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Shaphalya Amatya

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Paganism and Spiritism

A Study of Religion and Ritual in the Sherpa Society

-Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar

Man in all times and climes has to adjust himself to a host of variable situations especially with the nature – environment in his quest for food, clothing and shelter; and he must depend on his friends and neighbours to satisfy his expressively felt needs, as also or persons with supernatural potentialities who can seemingly exercise control over life and destiny when many questions relating to man's existence remain unanswered. In this vast universe, man has to face problems of varied natures, and these problems are not solved all at once, despite his technological progress and the gradual growth of his reasoning. Instead he persues relentlessly for solutions to those unsolved questions, and when the solution fails he attributes it to the bizarre design of supernatural forces and, through the media of magic and propitiation, as performed by these practitioners of magical art he solicits their grace for a better, trouble-free and assured life (Bhowmik, 1973:2). Especially among cultures in which people do not have the technological ability to control the environment, they resort to magic and religion. Chandra (1981) as a major ingredient of culture, and argues that "Religion, both as a dogma and as a way of life, helps in maintaining a well adjusted plane with the ecology thus satisfying people to fulfill their requirements in terms of (i) deriving remedial treatment to their problems, and (ii) achieving psychological satisfaction". According to him, harder ecological conditions contribute to a stronger

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religious faith. It is also considered that religion, as a belief system, serves two important functions in society: as common binding force, and as method of social control.

In order to fulfil the aforesaid aims man must go through different rituals for his pragmatic and transcendental concerns. The ritual is generally catagorized into two classifications: one is the type of ritual performed for the society as whole (rites of intensification) and the other is the ritual performed for an individual (rites de passage). According to time and situation, both types of classificatory rites may also come under domestic ritual. In the context of ritual, sociologists and anthropologists have defined ritual in different ways: "Ritual has invariably been shown to be socially necessary act as one which promotes group cohesiveness" (Durkheim); or as one which sacralizes tradition and acts as a guarantee of legitimate order" (Weber); or again as one "that allays anxiety, protects the social organization against the forces of instability and keeps in a state of balance" (Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown), and "it is a transcendentally necessary" act which means that reality symbolised is metaphysica" (Sharma, 1971:113).

In order to know man, his society and culture, anthropologists have followed different approaches as a part of their methodology. In this context I have followed the concept Nature-Man-Spirit Complex propounded by Vidhyarthi (1963). The concept has been developed under the theme of cultural ecology and functionalism. The trichotomy stands for cultural ecology, social system and spiritism respectively. As the same author (1981) writes, "Arising out of man's close interaction with an dependence on Nature is his belief in the supernatural and the spirit world. The three are then intertwined inextricably, at times merging into each other. Therefore, the concept has become very useful in analysing the life styles of simpler communities". However, the study reported here within is not exactly in tune with the study of the Maler by Vidhyarthi (1963). There is a great difference between the whole cultural surrounding of Maler of Santhal Paraganna of Bihar and the Sherpa culture of Nepal Himalayan region. The purpose of writing this article none-the-less is to show how the Sherpas are associated with nature, gods and spirits (supernatural forces) on one hand, and to explain why they perform certain rites and rituals on various occasions on the other.

Anthropologists seek not only to know the explicit culture but also the implicit culture of people. Without studying the implicit culture no ethnographic study will be complete. Thus, for the purpose of conceptually highlighting the religious scenario prevailing in the Sherpa society, this article is written on the basis of ecology (science of connexion or adaptation to environment), symbology and typology. While describing the ritual processes and performances I have not given so much Tibetan transliteration form of the Sherpa terms.

Methodologically, the work reported here-in is based on participant observation and unstructured interviews. Though fieldwork was done in Lamobagar, Bigu, Labchi-

Lumnang, Rolwaling, Simigaon, Khumbu and Solu in 1984–85, the title and the whole description of this paper is developed from three different communal and household rites. It was observed in Lamobagar for several times and twice in Mt. Everest Base Camp. The rites are locally known as *lhapso*, *lhabsang*, *chilhapso*. The word *lhapso* is derived from Tibetan words *lha–gsol* which means invocation and offerings to the local gods. Similarly, the term *lhabsang* is derived from Tibetan word *lha–bsang* meaning offerings of incense to the gods. The term *chilhapso* means invocation and offerings to the local gods by all villagers at the same time. The term *lhapso* is used by the Sherpas of Khumbu, *hyulsang* (*yul–sang*) by the Sherpas of Solu–Junbesi, *chilhapso* and *lhabsang* by the Sherpas of Lamobagar. However, this rite is not observed by the Sherpas of Bigu. While interpreting these terms in Nepali, the Sherpas of Lamobagar say, *bhume bujhaune* which means 'worship to the earth' (in my own understanding). They further interpret it as "your dewali" (family deity's worship which is performed either once a year or once every two years). The term *bhume bujhaune* or *sime bhume ko puja* (worship of local deities or spirits) is also used by the Tamangs, the another Tibetan Buddhist group of hilly region. These people worshipped or pleased the gods in the past; they worship in the present; probably they will worship in the future too. In fact, it is a continual cultural process of human beings. This can be applied to those who worship gods (almost unseen) to seek some favour. "This means that God is the focal point of man's religious sentiment" (Chaudhari, 1966:45).

On one side it seems clear how certain rituals have functioned as a system of a particular society in the context of structural arrangement; and on the other side, how the altar items, ritual offerings, mode of worship, ritual objects and other ingredients give a true picture of the society in a symbolic way. Therefore, to study the aforesaid rituals Geertz's (1973) concept "model of" and "model for" (two aspects for single process) is not out of place in understanding the symbolic culture of the people within this acro-cultural study.

The Sherpas while generally defined as an independent ethnic group, are racially Tibeto–Mongoloid, habitationally high altitude dwellers, occupationally agro–pastoralist and trans–Himalayan traders, and socially unstratified within the core clan group and *matawali* (alcohol–drinker or sacred thread unwearer). They have developed mountaineering skill by following the concept "He who hesitates is lost" rather than the concept "Look before leap." But this does not mean that they practice those type of slogans in behavioral aspect.

Though the Sherpas are members of a little community, they are guided by Buddhistic tradition in terms of 'great tradition' propounded by Redfield (1955) or 'oral, textual and ascetic tradition' propounded by Saraswati (1970). But, this does not mean they are not characterized by both 'shamanic' (preliterate) and 'clerical' (centralized) nature (Sammuel, 1985:383).

In oder to know the Sherpa culture implicitly, one has to know the full version of trichotomy–*chhi–rang–sang sum*. The trichotomy refers to 'exterior' 'interior' 'secret' 'three' respectively. Functionally the trichotomy has influenced an important role

in shaping not only their religious culture but also their social life. The way of maintaining secrecy is a part of the covert aspect of human behaviour. Therefore, it has become one of the important covert features of this snow bound culture. Change in their community goes on, for example, the process of urbanization, but still *chhi-nang-sang sum* remains a part of their life.

Ecological Setting of Lamobagar

Lamobagar is situated on the northern side of Dolakha district of Janakpur zone. The shape of the studied village is parallel and is one kilometre in length and half kilometre in breadth lying on the south-western side of Mt. Gaurishankar. The name of this village is derived from the flat Sandy land which is known as *chhyoksam* in the Sherpa language and the inhabitants of the area are called *chhyoksompa* by the Sherpas and Tibetans of the other regions.

Seven hour drive along the motor road linking Kathmandu with Jiri brings one to the Bus stop, Charikot (District head-quarter of Dolakha), the starting point to reach Lamobagar (35.5 kilometre); it can be reached in two days' walk for local people and three to four days for outsiders The route goes through Dolakha-Ratomate-Torikhet Gumukhola (Pikhuti) -Singhati-Bhorle-Suridovan-Totala Bari-Manthali-Jagat-Gongar Chhyochhyot and finally to Lamobagar. After following the right track from Chhyochhyot one may reach Simigaon and Rolwaling valley. Rolwaling is another Sherpa village situated still farther from Mt. Gaurishankar. Labchi, Lamobagar and Rolwaling Sherpa villages are quite attractive from the acro-cultural perspective. Labchi, the last north western Sherpa village of the district is 26.61 kilometre (two days' walk) from Lamobagar. There is an intimate relationship between the people of Labchi, Lamobagar, Rolwaling and Rongshyar (Nep.Falak : a Chinese village) in the socio-economic sphere. But, there is special touch due to the natural environment and geographical situation, between Labchi and Ngenam (Nep. Kuti: a Chinese village); Lamobagar and Rongshyar; Rolwaling and Khumbu. Rongshyar has become the popular traditional trade centre for the Sherpa of Lamobagar.

The elevation of Lamobagar is 6,170 ft. with the temperature ranging upto 22° celsius (May, 1985). On both the eastern sides of the village, two big hills are situated and on the northern side is a narrow gorge which leads Labchi - Lumnang and Rongshyar. There is a small mountain, *risumgonbo*, on the northern side of Lamobagar which consists of three small peaks. The eastern hill seems mostly rocky. Timber is abundant on the western and southern sides of the village. According to the local people, they face no problem regarding the availability of firewood and house construction, provided that the forest is protected from fire.

The Bhote Koshi, a big river flows down from north to south. Physiographically, due to the river, the total area of Lamobagar can be divided into four sections while politically it is divided into two wards (ward no 2 and 3) of Lamobagar Village Panchayat. The village, one of the four small sections on the right bank of Bhote Koshi, is called *farken yul* where

Tibetan refugees and three Sherpa families have settled down. The second village is situated on the left side of the river and is known as *chhyurken yul* or *yul tyang* and is occupied by the Sherpas and some Tibetan families. The third village, *yul chhok*, lies on the lowest part of the area where some Sherpas, some non - Sherpas and the government staff have taken residence. Saldong, the fourth village, situated in the south-eastern part of the area, is occupied by the Sherpas. The Lamobagar village is comprised of different ethnic groups: the neo-Kshatriyas (cross-breed from Kshatriyas and Sherpanis), Newars, Tamangs, and Gurungs.

There are 310 individuals and 74 refugees which comprise total 75 native and 21 Tibetan households in Lamobagar. Out of these, 14 households belong to non-Sherpa groups. There are a total of 218 livestocks including local and high altitude cattle, owned by the people of Lamobagar.

On the whole, the Sherpas do not live in nucleated villages, but in homesteads dispersed around a limited area. A Health Post, Lower Secondary School, Police Check Post, Border Administration Office, Post Office, Northern Belt Pasture Development Office, Agricultural Sub-section have been established in Lamobagar.

There is one *chhorten*, one long *mani* and two *gonpas* inside the village. Among the two gonpas the *chhewar gonpa* belongs to the Tibetan refugees. Here religious education is provided for the Tibetan children. Previously this *gonpa* belonged to the *kagyu-pa* sect but now it has changed into the *ge-lug-pa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The abbot of monastery or *gonpa* is Tibetan reincarnated lama. In this monastery one Sherpa boy also learns monastic education. The Nepali *Pemachholing gonpa* (Village temple) is under the *nying-ma-pa* sect. The three huge stones in the three corner of this village are regarded as *dwarapalas* (village guardians). There are three sacred sites of Seti Devi, Kali Devi and Jala Devi on the western side of the *yul chhok*. The Seti Devi is known as *karchhyok kyoki siddhak*. *kalibhairun* for Kali Devi and *dubchhyu* for Jala Devi among the Sherpas of Lamobagar.

The village is comprised of different Sherpa clans, such as Salaka, Gardza, Lhaksindu, Ngomba and Chyawa. Therefore, Lamobagar is not a single clan village like in Solu. From the view–point of clan affiliation, Lamobagar is similar to Rolwaling and Khumbu (multi-clan village). Prior to 1959, the Sherpas of Lamobagar practised cross-cousin marriage but after 1959, due to the impact of Tibetans of Rongshyar, they have abandoned this practice. Despite being influenced by the Tibetans of Rongshyar, they have never entered polyandrous marriages as was practiced by some Sherpas of Khumbu (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964:68-74).

So far as their dress and interior sanitation of the house is concerned they rarely change clothes and one gets peculiar smell from the interior parts of their houses. They use their clothes as dusters and towels and take them off only when they attend a certain ceremonial occasions. But, it does not mean that the Sherpas do not take their clothes off at the time of sleeping in the night. However, the dresses are never washed because it takes a long time to dry. Bathing is also rare because of cold climate. But the ritual bath is taken once in a year, is known as *mal chhyu* (summer water).

However, this is not a study of aqua symbolism. Besides *mal chhyu* bathing, few young Sherpa girls take bath before *dumje* (*local*:*dimju*) (exorcism rite) festival for the purpose of becoming neat and clean before the audiences. Otherwise the hair is also completely neglected, greased with oil or butter to drive away fleas and lice. On the whole, the body emits a peculiar odour non-favourable to outsiders. However, among the Sherpas, one is not neglected by the others, their behaviour and dress are entirely accepted in their community because they have same type of ecology. Due to the poor ecology, Sherpas of Lamobagar are maintaining simple life-style and also their life is very hard. If the village is electrified, the poor (economically) people of Lamobagar would be busy in developing handloom (particularly carpet) industry in village.

Religious Sect

Many anthropologists (Haimendorf, 1964; Paul, 1976; Ortner, 1978), including this writer (1987) are of the opinion that the Sherpas are followers of the *sang-ngag-nying-ma* school of Tibetan Buddhism. But, now, it is realised that not all the Sherpas of Bigu are mostly dependent on the lamas and nuns of Tashi gonpa who religiously belong to *dug-pa kagyu-pa*. Very few Sherpas of Bigu have heard the name of Guru Rinpoche, the founder of *nying-ma* school. Similarly, the Sherpas of Labchi are dependent on the lamas who are the followers of *di-khung kagyu-pa*. Likewise many individual Sherpas of Thame (Khumbu) have become the followers of *ge-lug-pa* school of Tibetan Buddhism. There is one *ge-lug-pa* gonpa at Laudo in Thame area from where many Sherpa monks have come to stay at Kopan monastery (linkage gonpa of Laudo) for their religious education. However, the majority of the Sherpas of Solukhumbu, Rolwaling and Lamobagar believe in *sang-ngag* subsect of *nying-ma* major sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The term *sang-ngag* means literally the secret formulas (Dargyay, 1977:75, F. N. 52).

Reincarnation

The institution of reincarnation, *tulku*, is considered another important aspect of Sherpa religion. Even though the question was asked- why Tibetan reincarnated lamas get prestigious personality and why not the Sherpas ? -the answer came *chirim-chhe-chhe hrorim thyanga-thyanga*. The meaning of this proverb, *kharpe*, is "the more you respect the more he seems proudy, the more you heat the more that seems cold." It is applied not only in the context of religion but also in social aspect. However, this type of scenario can not be found in the Tibetan society particularly in religious field. Most of the Tibetans are maintaining religious law order, and identity; that is why the institution of *tulku* is still growing more popularity in the world, even though the Sherpas do not maintain it properly and it is therefore gradually declining in their community. This is mostly concerned with little Sherpa reincarnated people.

Reality in Religion

In the Sherpa community many young and old people including both sacred and secular at different times and situations invoke *Om-Mani-Pe-Me-Hum-Rhi* (prayer to compassionate god-Fawa Chenresi or Arya Lokeswara). Similarly, the terms *kon-chhok-sum* (Buddha, Religion and Community) and *kangyur* (Buddhist canonical texts) are equally used by them in daily behavioural aspects. Besides that there are some people,

however, who have turned from secular to sacred, are not able to understand their religion properly and even they do not follow the religious order as well as basic principles of Tibetan Buddhism. This type of superficiality is known as *necho chos* (parrot's religion). Though the Sherpas have different term for parrot, *chya-mechu* but they also follow the same Tibetan term in the context of religion. In their version, the parrot also invokes certain hymns if the bird is taught properly by somebody else. But, after reciting the hymn the bird takes insect from the floor. Therefore, according to them, simply reciting the hymns does not function positively until and unless they will be able to understand well. This is the reason why they have compared their religion with the action of parrot. However, this is neither a signal of destruction nor a looseness of religion.

Comparatively, the Sherpa women though there are some nuns, are very poor in their religion relative to the males of the community. In context of this subject matter many questions were asked to the nuns of Tashi gonpa of Bigu but, no answer came from their side. Similar type of scenario was found in Thubtenchholing monastery, Takshindu and Devuche gonpa.

Now-a-days those monks who have settled in the monasteries of Kathmandu valley, some of them occasionally go to see the video movie and football matches along with musical instrument like *sangdung* or *geling*, are loosing their religious personality in the vision of lay people. The native Buddhists particularly lay people have given the term 'modern monks'. Comparatively this type of scenario can not be found in acro-cultural zone. The reality of modernity is however different subject matter which is not dealt here.

Religious Merit

The Sherpa's another important religious aspect is *chhe dhitang chhi mangi*. For this the Tibetans use the term *dhi chhi ngi yoeth* which means 'this life and next life concerning'. In other words, it can be interpreted as pragmatic and transcendental concerns. Under this theme, as it is said, one has to follow the sacred performances, *kon chhok la chhopa*; to give alms to the beggars, *ngen long la zinba*; and to give service to the lama, *gyedun la ngenkor*. It is believed that if one could follow this clerical interpretation (in my own understanding) he or she will have *phayen* (Tib. *phen-yon*) which means if he has helped he will get same type of return. Finally this helps him to increase more *sonam* (merit). The Sherpa lamas further stress that the villagers' concept *sonam*, *gewa* (virtuos act) and *gewa-jinba* (meritorous act or donation for religious activities) includes all aforesaid principles. With a view to gaining religious merit or to increase more *sonam* the Sherpas have heartily followed the clerical interpretation.

Functionally the term *sonam* seems very important in the Sherpa society. One's *sonam* (in a sense covertly attached destiny) is determined by birth. Each and every people are proud of their *sonam* and it is believed that *sonam* remains on one's forehead. Therefore, no one wants to loose his or her *sonam* through any type of negative actions. This is the reason why the Sherpas do not bow their heads to the feet of the secular people, they believe that *sonam* may transfer to each side. But they do not mind to bow their heads to the big lamas for the purpose of increasing more *sonam*.

According to the Sherpas and Tibetans, the feet are not considered sacred because in one aspect they kill many insects which is considered as a profane act and on the other the feet seem very untidy because of touching human fecal, etc. Therefore, instead of bowing the head, the Tibetans touch their forehead to their respected kin to which they call *thopa tukpa*.

Buddhism is not only a religion of renunciation but also a religion of non-violence. Therefore, no Buddhist is allowed to participate on strife and violence. But strife and violence is common among the secular and alcohol-drinkers society even if they are Buddhists. Though alcohol is considered as an indispensable food, from the view point of cold climate, and culture, it some times may create strife and violence. But, the problem is what will be the situation of *sonam* as being a Buddhist ? Many informants replied that they will not have *sonam* in front while quarrelling and fighting with each other. They believe that it transfers from the front to the back side of the head. Then after, neither can they control their emotion nor do they remember that they are Buddhist. However, this is the disfunctional aspect of *sonam* in the context of religion, role and behaviours of the people. Sometimes covert cultural features as well as emic versions are equally important to know man, his society and culture in a better way.

During the discussion of religion the Sherpas said that the lama, gonpa, monastery, *mani*, etc. are not the religion. "Our religion is based on *le gyunde*" (le=deed, *gyu*=seed, *de*=fruit). Ortner (1978, 1978: 181, F. N. 5: 19) also writes, "However, the Sherpas de not use the term "Karma" but it is a standard term in Buddhist literature and I shall use it for convenience. In Sherpa the term for Buddhist retribution, the cosmic principle of cause and effect, is *le*." If it is the main theme of Sherpa religion how far can it be related with *chhi dhitang chhe ma ngi?* In the context of this problem, the informants expressed that it is a Buddhist retribution. If one has a good deed or good *karma* (effect-creating deed) in his present life the result will be good for the next life and if one has done a bad deed in the present life he will have a bad result for the next life. This is the theme of *le gyunde*. *Sonam* also comes from his nature of deed. However, the etic understanding is that both the Sherpas and the other Tibetan Buddhists are motivated by the lamas to perform certain acts for this pragmatic (this worldly) and transcendental (the other worldly) life. Therefore, the concept *le-gyunde* also seems as part of the aforesaid clerical interpretation.

While talking about pragmatism and transcendentalism more people came to the point of the wheel of life, *sipakhorlo*, in terms of Karma. Therefore, from the view-point of suffering and Karma, *sipakhorlo* is considered as one of the important teleological symbols in this community. In this regard while writing about *sipakhorlo*, Govinda (1970: 242) writes, "This form creating activity (Tib.*hdu-byed*) is adequately symbolized by the picture of a potter. Just as a potter creates the Sherpa of a pot so we form our character and destiny or more correctly, on Karma, the outcome of our deed in works, and thought." However, *sipakhorlo* gives the certain themes of suffering and condition of life in this temporal and transcendental world.

Insiders and Outsiders

Unlike Tibetan, the Sherpas also have the concept of insiders and outsiders.

According to the informants, those who believe in Buddhism they are all regarded as insiders, *nangwa*. Those who do not believe in Buddhism but who have their own religion are categorized as outsiders, *chhiwa*. As the Sherpas understand that the Hindus,Christian, Muslims and people of other religions are all *chhiwa*. The lamas generally distinguish the *chhiwa* into two sub-groups. According to them, those who are eternalists are taken into *tagparmarwa* and those who are nihilists are considered as *chheparmarwa* under the *chhiwa* group.

Sacred and Secular groups

In the Sherpa community, a man who becomes a householder is known as *jikten-pa* or *mi kya* (*mi kar-po*= white dressed man). Though the Sherpas traditionally wore black dress, they follow the traditional Tibetan terms to distinguish sacred and secular persons on the basis of dressing patterns. Those who wear yellow dress are known as *mi seru* (*mi syar-po*= yellow dressed man) and are considered sacred. In the context of *mi kya*: long ago many secular people of Tibet wore *nambu* (woolen dress of white colour). Therefore, they were simply called *mi kya* in short. In the Sherpa understanding the white dressed or black dressed people seem unknown to the religion. However, the short term *kya-ser* (white and yellow people) symbolically functions to distinguish among the Tibetan Buddhist groups by typological phenomena of sacred and secular.

Lamas

The Sherpas believe that certain lamas have sound knowledge about *semge* and *miwa* which means that he follows the principles of 'live and let live,' equal behaviour, good feeling and he is moral, sincere, pious, honest, kind, simple, and spiritual. Thus considering the high status of the lama the Sherpas generally send their middle sons to ordain monkhood and later to become permanent monks, lamas or only ritual masters, thereby gaining merit of the family. Generalizing the activities of a lama, according to circumstances he becomes a ritual master, medicinal man, doctor, printer, painter, reader, writer, spiritual father, fortune teller, advisor and a pious man before the lay people. These lamas, according to their profession, might be married or celibate. Comparatively, a celibate monk or lama is more highly revered than a married lama of the village. Again typology comes to this point. Those lamas who live in the village and have spent family life are locally known as either *ngag-pa* or *banzin* or *dhong chho-pa*. These are the lamas who have big responsibilities to preserve their village and community culture. Therefore they are the key factors of village and community.

There are other monks and nuns who permanently reside at the monastery and nunnary and practice celibacy as well as following the monastic discipline. They are locally and religiously known as *dulva* lamas. A *dulva* lama is not necessarily a reincarnate, *tulku*, among the Sherpas. In case, if a *dulva* monk or lama or even a *tulku* leaves his monastery and enters into family life he will loose much of his secred personality in his locality. The same goes for the nuns.

In order to be a lama, according to the rules and regulations of monastic institution, one must spend three years, three months and three days, *lo sum da sum*, studying in the monastery as becoming a monk. Then after he can be addressed by the term lama. But it does not mean that he will be perfectly expert in religion. It only means that he gets the designation of "lama." The word lama means the "Superior One" (Stein,

1972) or " the one who has no superior" and is taken to correspond to Guru or Uttara in sanskrit; a specific connotation is that one who can administer initiation (Skt. Diksha= Tib Dbang). The word lama, meaning precepter or priest, was in currency in Tibet before the advent of Buddhism, and the priest in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion was, as is still called lama. There are numerious examples in *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* authenticating lama for Guru. An historic example, and perhaps the first such, designating an Indian master as lama is noticed in the grammar of Thonmi Sambhota, the reputated author of Tibetan script (circa 640). In his grammar Thonmi makes obeisance to all the lamas (*bla-ma rnam-la*) Shalu Lotsava, in his commentary on Thonmi's grammar, identifies as Devavidhya Simha and Lipidatta and calls them Thonmi's "own lamas" (*bday nvid kyi blama*)" (Sinha, 1967: 36-37). Religiously one who becomes lama he should be able to follow certain postures which is known as *nyamja ki chkyak gya*. Besides this, he should have sacred outlook, *dag nang*. "Sacred outlook is perceiving the world and oneself is intrinsically good and unconditionally free" (Klimburg-Satler, 1982: 229).

All lamas, however, are not expert in every aspect of the universe, even though they are greatly revered by the society. The reason he is so respected that he is rich in ritual practices, religious icons, praying-wheels, monastery, religious books, lucky trinckets, rosaries, prayers, formulas, charms and amulets against all possible and impossible misfortunes, remedies, incantations and horoscopes. Including all these characteristics, the attributes (drum, sceptre and bell) of the lamas also tremendously affect the heart of lay people.

It is also said, "without the Lama in front, God is not approachable)" (Waddell, 1969). When a man is married or dies the lamas come in a congregation to assist him and for their services they charge money. When he meets misfortune they charge him for driving his bad luck away. When he meets his good fortune they charge him for offering up thanks; when nothing happens to him, good or bad, they charge again for preventing things from becoming worse (Grenard, 1974: 343). Therefore, it can be said that the lama seems both sacred and authority of secular power. "A village lama is simply a person who has received religious instruction that enables him to perform certain rites and is resident in the village as a householder. He may have been taught by another village lama or may have spent some years as a novice or monk in a monastery before returning to secular life" (Haimendorf, 1984; 94-95).

However, the *ngagpa* or village lama is the focal point of Sherpa village culture. Upto the present time there seems no problem of village lamas particularly in the Sherpa villages, but there is going to be a lack of their successors under study which indicates a problem twenty years from today at the time of the next generation. Even the monk is not supposed to stay in the village regularly. Though married monks, *thalok*, can perform certain rituals but he is not revered by the local people because of getting back from the monastery. There is a also a great difference between the socio-religious status of a married monk and the married lama. Generally, the lama is considered higher in status than the *thawa* (monk). But an unmarried senior monk and unmarried *dulva* lama are both much

revered than the aforesaid married monk and the lama.

Archaic World

In order to survive in society, man has developed two traditions which can be called social tradition and archaic tradition. However, here it is confined only to archaic tradition. The Sherpa's archaic culture is represented by *gonde* (monastery), *gonpa* or *lha kang* (village temple), *mani* (free standing sacred stone wall engraved with many mantras), *chhorten* (stupa), *labtsa* (sacred shrine of mountain pass), *kani* (village entry gate), *dharbujen* (free standing long wooden pole with sacred flag), *tharchok* (prayer flag) and *lungta* (the airy horse).

Among these overt cultural features of Sherpa archaic world, the *gonpa* is considered as one of the integral parts of religion and ritual. In addition to all meritorious activities, prostration before the altar, circumambulation towards the *gompa chhorten*, *mani*, imploration to the gods is frequently practiced by the Sherpas in their settlement areas.

Typology of Gods and Spirits

The Sherpas' gods are divided into two groups. The first group is commonly known as *jik-ten-bi-lha*. which is concerned with the present life: and the second group is known as *jik – ten– bi la da pa* whose gods are addressed as high gods, who are primarily concerned with the next life. In this regard, Ruegg (1976:26) has clearly discussed these two classification. As he writes, "In Buddhist thought furthermore, the gods are classified as either mundane (Sans. *laukika*, *tib. jig ten pa*) or supramundane (Sans. *lokottara*, *tib. jig ten-la da pa*), a division that closely follows a more general classification. In the first case they are minor deities, genii or local gods., and in this category are included deities of what may be termed the pan-Indian or Tibetan religious substratum capable of granting earthly boons or assisting in mundane matters, a well as genii who have to be propitiated. The supramundane ones are thought of, on the contrary, as beings far advanced on the path of spiritual perfection and as protector of the Dharma, possessing great psychological and spiritual significance for the *sadhaka* or practiser. (the possibility moreover exists for a *laukika* divinity to become a *lokottara* one in certain circumstances)".

The high gods are worshipped only to obtain religious merit and forgiveness of sin, *digpa*. There is another group of deities which resides in and around the villages supervising the good and bad acts of the people. According to time and situation of human behavioural roles they seem both benevolent and malevolent beings. This is why the spirits are appeased by the lamas to support the sentient beings of the temporal world. While talking about the Sherpa gods, Ortner (1978:277) writes, "the gods lack physical bodies and physiological processes, and exist in a state of peaceful non- violence, hence they are, by definition perfectly pure. Animals mired in their physiological processes embody the physical side of pollution, while demons, who are by nature angry and aggresive, model the violent side of pollution". However, the Sherpa's high gods are Sangechemdende (Gautam Buddha), Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhava), Fawa Chenresi (Aryalokeswara), Hopangme AmitabhaBuddha), Chhyagna Dorje (Samanta Bhadra), Jyambiyang (Manjusree), Dorjechhyang (Vajradhara), Dorje Sempa

(Vajrasattva), Chhepangme (Amitayus), Sungma (protector deity), Gonpo (protector deity). The high gods are worshipped for transendental concern while the local gods are worshipped for pragmatic concern.

Therefore, the Sherpas will always anxious about negative actions of evil spirits, demons and other local spirits. That is why, for their survival, they first appease the gods before fighting with their enemies (demons, ghosts, witches and other evil spirits).Ortner (1978:137) writes in this aspect "the primary object of offering ritual is to get the gods to renew their premordial struggle against, and re-enact their original triumph over, the demons and the forces of anarchy and violence, and has pointed out the two extreme types–high gods who preside over the system (and over every ritual) and the demons who pit themselves against the system and aga inst every ritual." According to the Sherpas, furious gods may give trouble to their life or livestock at any time. So in their present life, they have to keep in touch not only with the Buddhist gods but also with local spirits because they need mercy, bliss, luck, longevity, happiness, yearly gathering, success, wealth, sound health, and protection.

To further attaining of these needs, people usually try to avoid sin and try to gain merit. For this they are helped by lamas, who perform coercive rites on the occasions of birth, marriage, illness and death. Due to the different circumstances the laity are constrained to keep in good communication with the lamas who are only the people who can perform necessary rites. Similarly, the lamas, though they are sacred, closely interact with the villagers because they also have to survive in this temporal world. Hence, the lamas and laity worship local gods considering them as benevolent spirits because of fearfulness and also they have to stay on nature's lap.

As far as spirits are concerned, the Sherpa term for this is known as *hrendi* which is derived from Tibetan religious term *lha-de*. The belief is that *hrendi* are spirits that have never been human and are destined to roam the earth eternally, ever anxious to inflict harm on the living. "Sherpa resort to measures to keep them away, for example, scattering thorns on a trail to prevent them from following. It is also said that the doors of Sherpa houses are low to prevent the stiff-backed *hrindi* from entering easily. Every year public rites are held in all Sherpa villages *hrindi* and other evil spirits from harming community" (Presern and Halligan, 1987:137).

However, the term *lhade* does not cover the whole groups of spirits which can be found in the Tibetan Buddhist communities. All the spirits and local gods, as mentioned before, can be categorized into five main types: (i) godly spirits *yul–lha, daf–lha.*,(ii) animality spirits–*siddhak, lu,sabtak, neddhak, terdhak* and *chen*;(iii) ghost spirits–*shindi, gyaptak, dyu, theurang, de*; (iv) demonic spirits–*du, gyak, simbu*; and (v) living spirits *sonde* or *pem* and *sondimu*.

So far as godly spirits are concerned they are worshipped on various ceremonial occasions because they are considered as village protectors and e nemy destroyers respectively. For example, some mountains like Khumbu *yul–lha* of Khumbu, Sorung *yul–lha* or *tashipalchhen* (Mt.Numbur) of Solu,

tashi chheringma (Mt. Gaurishankar) of Rolwaling, Simigaon and Lamobagar are regarded as guardian deities of concerning localities. Similarly *dof-lha* is worshipped because it helps to suppress the enemies of the people.

Among the animal type of spirits, *sidhak* are regarded as the supreme local spirit under whom *lu*, *sabtak*, *nedhak*, *terdhak*, *chen* come to exist. However, these are all unseen spirits which have both negative and positive function in terms of causing good, *ngodup*, or bad, *nerpa*, acts in the community. Therefore, people always try to appease them at any cost through the help of lamas. *Sidhak* are regarded as the lords of soils; *lu* are regarded as the guardians of purity of hearths, houses, streams and lakes; *sabtak* are regarded as male *lu*. *Nedhak* are highly revered because they are considered as the lords of certain localities and pilgrimages. Similarly, *terdhak* are also revered because they function as the guardians treasures left by Guru Rinpoche, and *chen* are spirits whose residual place is believed to be at precipitious mountains or inside the forest.

Coming to the point of ghost spirits: *shindi* are considered as dead spirits which try to attack living beings at any place at any time. Generally the act of giving trouble is known as *nerpa* in Khumbu and *norpa* in Solu. In this concern it is very important to know the meaning of *de* (the dead spirits) which have gone neither to heaven nor to hell. Therefore, there is no difference between the term *shindi* and *de*. While showing the function of spirits, Ortner (1978:99, 180, F.N.5) points out, "While the Sherpas have names for many different kinds of demons, the distinguishing features of the various types are not all that clear. In the case of funerals, the chief villians are creatures called *de*. It is *de* who are attracted by all the feasting that goes on in the course of the funeral. The tiger exorcism (*do dzongup*) is directed against *de* although the *gyepshi* is directed against a different type of demon called while both *de* and *du* are greedy, vicious, cannibalistic and anti-religions (as any proper demon must be), *du* show up mainly in tales and rituals as being defeated by lamas, while *de* perform more specific and immediate anti-social personal acts."

Anthropologists Presern and Halligan (1987) have defined *nerpa* differently, and have written that "*Nerpa* are the ghosts of people, who during their life, were known for their greed or evil deeds, all of which can lead to a rebirth without material incarnation. Such a fate may also be brought about by the manner of death, and people who die suddenly, through violence or accidents, are likely to become *nerpa*. Those, however, who had not been guilty of evil conduct in their last life may after a time, cease being *nerpa* and achieve rebirth in any of the six states on the wheel of life." But many informants are of opinion that *nerpa*, the act of giving trouble may arise from any type of spirit like the *nerpa* of *lu*, *nerpa* of *lha*, *nerpa* of *chen*, *nerpa* of *dyu*, etc.

"*Du* are similar to *lu* though much more dangerous and they are offended by polluting acts in their vicinity" (Ibid). The *dyu* (*du*) reside around rocks and boulders, springs at the meeting points of three rivers and rivulets. There are mainly four types of *dyu* which are called *dyu si*; (i) *ngyomon ki dyu*, (ii) *fungpi dyu*, (ii) *lhe pi dyu*, and (iv) *chhi dak ki dyu*. Though *dyu*

are taken under demonic forces, these spirits are not counted as the demon. These four *dyu si* are generally worshipped as mentioned earlier by Ortner, on the occasion of *gyepshi* rite. According to time and situation, this rite might be both communal and individual. As people strongly believe that create obstacle in society, for the purpose of avoiding these spirits the lamas perform the *gyepshi* rite after consultation of the *nakchi* (astrological text). It is said that *dyu* are under control of *garawangchhok* which is regarded as the king of *dyu*. According to the lamas, the *dyu* are pleased when the people perform negative activities in terms of inclining desire, ignorance and anger from which they can not transmigrate from this temporal world to transcendental world. *Theurang* are another type of evil spirit which also reside in residental localities.

Gyaptak are spirits which are functionally regarded as followers of people, as they believe that *gyaptak* may erupt the deceased soul, *sem*, at the time of transmigration.

Among the demonic forces, *gyak* are considered as the most dangerous hinderers. These spirits always create obstacle at the time of religious performances. Generally *gyak* are under the control of king *Binayak*. While performing the religious ritual, the lamas first and foremost propitiate the *gyak* by providing *torma* (*gyaktor*) outside of the home.

Coming to the point of witches, the Sherpas of Solu distinguish male witches *sonde*, from female witches, *sondimu*; the Sherpas of Khumbu use *pem* for both. The function of these living spirits is more social than religious. The nature and function of *pem* is to cause illness and misfortune to people and especially people who seem alert, such as during the period of confinement of a pregnant woman.

The other spirits, except *pem*, *sonde* or *sondimu* are also concerned with religious activities. Some of the local spirits are considered as benevolent while others are malevolent, according to time and situation. If the spirits are malevolent, the lamas do not at once try to suppress them through rituals. Their best effort seems to be to appease them by providing food, drinks and invocation. One of the most important examples is *konchhen chundi ki chhoka* (sacred performance for the Union of the Precious One) in which the food, *torma*,[2] is served to *gyak*, who is then requested not to create any sort of obstacles during ths ritual performance. It is also said that if the *gyak* does not follow the lama's request the malevolent spirit will not be excused. This proves that there is a symbiotic relationship between the man and spirit world in the Tibetan Buddhist society. This functionally shows not only that there is a close relationship between man and their supernatural world but also that there is close relationship between the nature and spirit world. Therefore, it can also be said that there is close interaction and interdependence with each other. Thus nature-man-spirit world has formed a complex in the Sherpa society.

Sacred Occasion

Before describing the ritual processes of *lhapso*, *chilapso* and *lhabshang* it is essential to mention the significance of the four

seasons of the year and the sacred and secular days of the month.

The first season of the year is known as *sola* which begins from *dawa ngiwa* (March) and ends by *dawa siwa* (May). Bista (1972:261) writes the first *'chika'* is a fine season. Anyway, the word *'chika'* means 'one' or 'first' but it is not a name of the first season. The second season is known as *yerla* which begins from *dawa ngiwa* (June) and ends by *dawa dyunwa* (August). The third season, *tyunla*, begins from *dawa gyepa* (September) and ends by *dawa chiwa* (November) and the last *gunla*, starts from *dawa chyuchikpa* (December) and ends by *dawa thangpo* (February). In Lamobagar and Khumbu the *lhabsang* or lhapso rite is performed on the month of *dawa sumba* of *sola*, *dawa thugpa* of *yerla*, *dawa chiwa* of *tyunla*, and *dawa thugpo* of *yerla*, *dawa thangpo* of *gunla*.

At Himalayan Base Camp, Sherpa people do not care which season it is that the expedition arrives, for it is only after fulfilling this rite, *lhapso*, that they start climbing. But in the village, before enacting the rite people want to know the auspicious dates of the month. Most of the domestic rites are performed in between the first and the fifteenth of the month. According to their horoscope, *dattu*, the first fifteen days from *chhewa chik to chhewa chyanga* of the month are considered auspicious days for performing any kind of rites. This period is socially and religiously known as *dawa hyarngo*. The remaining fifteen days (from *chewa churuk* to *namgang*) of the month are taken as inauspicious or secular days in which the Sherpas generally do not perform ceremonies. This period is known as *dawa marngo*. In most of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, the lamas perform certain rites particularly on the eighth, *chhewa gya*, tenth, *chhe chyu*, fifteenth, *chhewa chyanga* and twenty-ninth days, *namagang* (waxing moon) of the month. On these days people do not perform any sort of sinful activities, as slaughtering of animals.

Dress Symbol

Another important overt feature is dressing in the Sherpa society. On the occasion of religious ceremony, festivals, marriages, feast or other social gatherings, people wear their traditional dresses like a Tibetan hat and *chhiwa* or *chhyuwa*, is a male dress which looks like a gown, 5-6 feet long from the shoulder consisting of long sleeves, tapering at the waist and gathered up so as not to fall below the ankle of the men. Women wear the same type of dress which is known as *angi* in Solukhumbu and *angdung* in Lamobagar aud Bigu.

In regard to changing of dress, the Sherpas talk about two occasions known as *ga lhachhok*. (god's gathering) and *dugmisi* (death pollution or sorrow). Gathering on special functions like a feast, festival, marriage, and other religious ceremony is compared with *ga lhachhok*. This is the reason that they use to change to their new dresses and ornaments an special occasions. In this regard the Sherpas of Junbesi distinguish materials for pomp and show to which they use the term as *sabto chhyaup* (make up), *manja* (dresses), *genja* (ornaments), and *tenja* (sitting materials). According to their belief, the gods are gathered on the occassion of *chho* or *chhowa* (worship). Therefore they would love to go with full of ornaments and new dresses.

As it was observed that people changed their dresses on the occasion of communal

worship *chi lhapso*, in Lamobagar and changed their dresses on the occasion of *lhapso* in Mt. Everest Base Camp before starting to climb the mountain. In such a situation people seem quite happy because of the presence of gods. But, it does not mean that the Sherpa's gods are visible. In its opposite aspect, *dugmisi* symbolizes that people do not resort to any kind of pomp or show although they have to gather to fulfil their social custom. The concept *Dugmisi* does not allow one even to laugh, dance or joke with another at the time of sorrow.

Ritual Texts

The ritual, for *lhabsang* or *lhabso*, is performed through different alternative liturgical texts. The name of the texts are *gyan lhabsang, pema lhabsang* and *sangjuhisinorbu deke sirkim*. If the ritual is to be performed in a complete way, then the book *gyan lhabsang* is consulted. If it is to be done in a medium way, the book *pema lhabsang* in Lamobagar and *riosangchhoe* in Junbesi is consulted; and in Lamobagar *sangjunghisinorbu* is consulted only when the time is short. At Everest Base Camp the ritual is performed through *deke sirkim* due to the lack of time, ritual objects, offerings, and ritual experts. Besides this, it is very difficult to arrange a full scale ritual there. At Lamobagar people perform this rite through *pema lhabsang*. The ritual can be performed in forty minutes if *deke sirkim* is consulted. It takes at least four hours if the ceremony is performed through *pema lhabsang*,

Altar

In the Sherpa language the altar is called *chhosam*. It is usually built in a common room of the Sherpa house. If it is separated from the common room then it is called *chhokhang* and *lhakhang* for separate houses. On the altar are three shelves bearing lamps, bowls of water and flowers, while beneath a table sacrificial cakes, *gtor-ma* are placed (Stein, 1972:214). These are the common characteristics of an altar. But, at the time of worship, the altar is decorated with many ritual offerings and objects according to the nature of rites.

The altar as mentioned earlier is characterized by three shelves. Religiously, the lowest self is known as *chhi* (external), the second one is known as *nang* (internal), and the upper one is known as *sang* (secret). On the upper portion of the upper part there are displayed some statues of Buddha, Guru Rinpoche, Fawa Chenresi and one picture of the Dalai Lama. But there is no hard and fast rule to displaying all those statues properly. However, the upper part of the altar is generally characterized by three different icons which are known as *chho-lung-tul sum* in short. The full term of trichotomy is *chhoku* (Dharmakaya), *lungku* (Sambhogakaya), *tulku* (Nirmanakaya). In the absence of these statues of the following gods people use to display any one but it should be related with the main sect of their religion. However, the displayed icons are considered as the representation of Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya as mentioned before.

Preparation of Altar

The Sherpa term for sacred performance is known as *chhyak chhopa* and the act of worshipping is known as *chhyak chhopa kidup* or *bulup*. The term *chhoka* refers to worship and the ritual master is known as *c hone* in Solu and *chhopa* in Khumbu and Lamobagar. He who performs the ritual in a funeral ceremony is called *chhone* in

Khumbu. The process of sacred performance is called *chhoka chhaglen*. According to the Sherpa lamas, the performances can be divided into two groups which are known as *kerim* and *jogrim*. *Kerim* type of worship can be observed easily while *jogrim* cannot be understood by secular groups. As the lama says there is close relationship between *jikten la da pa* and *jogrim* type of performance.

The altar items are collectively known as *chhoje* which are used under *chhinchhe* 'exterior worship. The *chhoje* includes the eight basic offerings: (i) *chhyuen* (water for drinking), (ii) *chhepsil* (water for washing), *metok* (a flower for good smell), (iv) *dukpo* (burnt incense), *marme* (butter for fire or butter lamp), (vi) *thichhap* (scented water) *syalse* (simple uncoated torma), *rolma* (music). These eight offerings are not apart from the Sanskrit terms like argam, padyam puspe, dhupe, aloke, gandhe. naibitte, sabda or baddhya respectively.

The offerings which are placed on the second shelf are all taken into *nang chhe*, 'interior worship' and offerings. Simbologically they represent six senses namely, *juk* (mirror for the sight-two eyes), *da* (an instrument which produces sound for hearing-two ears), *dhi* (incense for the smell-nose), *ro* (food for the taste-tongue), *rakchya* (a cloth for touch-heart or body), *chho* (mind or consentration). These six senses (*tho* form of worship) are represented through *torma* to which the lamas call *wongbu* go *nga* or *wongbi metok*. Generally the ritual is based on *chya gyud* (Tib. *bya rgyud*, Sans. kriya tantra).

The third step *sang chhe* (secret worship) and the meaning of offerings are related with vajrayana form of worship. In this form some *tormas* (the sacrificial cakes), butter lamps and others are placed. The ritual is based on *nal jyor pai gyud* (Tib. *rnal byor pa'i rgyud*), Sans. yoga tantra). However, the lamas say that the occult practices and occult versions, *lama gyopa*, can not be interpreted as mentioned earlier.

In addition to all the above mentioned materials, some other materials are also placed. These include food, *torma*, *dorje* (sceptre: the symbol of wisdom, *thabtang*, and method, *serab* which symbolizes the admantine and indistructible nature of ultimate reality), *dhilbu*, (bell), a miniature *chhorten*, *dadar* (a sacred wand dressed up with silk streamers in five colours), *pumba* (holy jug with peacock's feather known as *mapchi do*), *kangling* (a thighbone triumphet), *corthung* (a conch shell), *bukshill* (cymbals), beer for *dutsi* (ambrosia), *rakta* (tea for blood) and *damar* (drum). All these materials are used during the usual worship. But there is no hard and fast rule regarding the use of any or all such materials in a worship. Many rites are performed even without these materials. While performing *lhapso* rite in Everest Base Camp, Urgen, the brother of Tyangboche reincarnated Lama aranged the stone altar bearing three shelves accordingly. But there were not necessarily the items as mentioned earlier.

While following any form of worship, the lama follows three important processes known as *ngondo*, *ngosi* and *je*, under which he follows another seven sub-processes which are functionally, ritually and symboligically known as *chhyakchhalwa*, *chhopa* , *syakpa*, *jesuirangba*, *dulwa* ,*saibadep* and *gewa ngowa*. These seven sub-processes are religionsly known as *hyanlokdonpa*.

Under the first process *ngondo* the lama follows *kyamdo* (to take refuge), *semge* (cultivating bodhichitta), and *hyanlok donba*. The purpose of invoking these prayers is to collect religious merit for oneself and all. The term *syakpa*, letters, is related with *higya* mantra to Vajrasattva, the god of removing sin. So far as *kyamdo* and *semge* is concerned, these two prayers are simultaneously invoked by the lama during performance. Even though *kyamdo* functions for an individual, *semge* functions for all sentient beings. The prayer to Vajrasattva is related with Vajrayan sect.

On the second process of *ngosi* the lama mainly follows musical instruments. All the musical instruments are divided into three catagories which are known as *bu dung tul sum* (music from blowing, clashing, beating three). The purpose of giving music is known as *chenden* which means to welcome. The porpose of using music is to make the gods alert. Accordingly, the gods are invited to arrive at the altar through providing musical voice which is known as *ngensen* (*ngen*=ear, *sen*=to listen). Side by side juniperus incence is also burnt. The act of requesting to the gods for their arrival at an altar by the lama is known as *juksosolu*.

In the main time after completing the process, host is ordered to prostrate toward the altar under the process of *chhyak chholu* or *chhyak chholwa* three times continuously. The purpose of following this act is to surrender to the deities by promising not to follow sinful acts and, in case it was done before, to ask for excuse from the gods. Side by side it is also tried to gain religious merit from the following performances. Then after *chhopa* is performed under the principle of *chhin chhe*.

So far *syakman* is concerned, some lamas follow this process first and then start the other processes, and some lamas do not follow it before *chhak chhopa*. Then the lama will follow the another process which is known as *kyamdo* and *semge*. The purpose of following is similar to the act of *syakman*. Those processes are also to get in touch with the Buddhist gods.

After this another process is performed which is known as *jesuirangba*, under which moral and ethical values and retribution are traced by the lama. Then the lama follows *kusing salbadep* under which every body is requested to follow the religious activities for gaining merit. The process *ngowa* throws light on collecting the religious merit for other people. The last process is known as *tashi* (good wishes). In this process the lama places a butter-mark, *karken*, on the forehead and head of all household members with some blessing prayers, *tashi molam*. Thus the lama completes the worship at the Sherpa altar. Most of the process are related with *kriya tantra*, *yonga tantra*, and *mahayoga tantra* While performing ritual, the uttarance of secret version and gestures of the fingure, *lama gyopa* is very difficult to understand and the lamas are not permitted to interpret it according to the Vajrayana rule. One of the tantra rituals, followed by the Sherpa lama is *conchhek chhndi chhoka*. This is also known as *dekhona niki chhyopa* which is followed under *maha yaga* tantra relating to Guru Rinpoche.

Method of Worship

In regard to the nature of worship, the lama reported that there will be no unanimity of processes and performance of worship. Therefore, the nature of worship depends on the quality and ability of the

lama and liturgical texts, the economic capacity of *jindak* (sponsor) the availability of materials and the number of the monks. In dealing with this matter the lama noticed that there are three alternative methods of of following worship which are collectively known as *gya ding du snm*(*gyepa, dingba, duwa sum*). The worship which is followed with full processes is known as *gyepa chho* and this is quite expensive. The worship which is followed with medium processes is kuown as *dingba chho* and the worship which is followed with simple processes is known as *duwa chho*. The majority of informants reported that they follow the medium processes of worship. Those who advice to follow *dingba* type of worship and he who can perform this type of worship is highly respected by the villagers and religiously they are addressed by the term *sangi hendeu* and *nangi henden*. The lama who knows the simple method of following worship is called *chhi henden*. According to the Sherpas, a *sangi henden* or *nangi henden* lama is considered an eminent lama of the village or monastery because he follows full fledged rituals and maintains the lamahood.

Lhabsang

This household rite was observed at four houses on *dawa sumba* of *sola*. Among eleven married lamas of Lamobagar one will be sufficient to perform this rite. Before the arrival of the lama the head of the household arranges everything which is necessary for the altar and the ritual master. The hostess seems preparing *gonde* or *syan* (boiled millet flour) for the lama and household members. When the lama arrives at home either *puri* (*tongba* drink) or *chhyang* (local beer) *suchya* (salt tea mixed with butter) is first served to him. There will be light-harted conversation following on all subject matters between the lama and the householder. Thereafter, the householder is ordered to burn incense and purify the altar and the exterior environment of his house with the incense. Chhyak-chho-lu (prostration) is then performed thrice before the altar.

In order to go through these rituals, the lama too, has to purify his body, as his body is considered impure. Before starting his work, he first chants some hymns for at least ten minutes to purify his body. According to the lama of Lamobagar, this act is known as *majyok*. Haimendorf (1964: 177), however, in regard to the first process of ritual writes "Common to all acts of worship are certain set features. First the deities are summoned to the feast and this invocation is accompanied by loud music and the clash of cymbals aimed at attracting their attention." But, the scenario which was observed in Lamobagar was slightly different from the description given by Haimendorf. It was asked to lama why the certain processes are different from other Sherpa areas. The lama of Lamobagar replied that *Langba re la khe lug re lama re la chhoelug re* which means "Every villages have own social system and each lama has his own religious system". After completing the *majyok* act, the morning meal, *gonde* is served to the lama. After having the first meal the lama then performs one ritual known as *sang* (a fragrant smoke offering or offering of incence). In this ritual the householder offers burning incence to many local gods alternatively while the lama invokes their blessings for many purposes. The gods, who are worshipped through the *sang* ritual, are the big lamas, *Palahisi gonpo khandu chheringa* (Mt. Gaurishankar), *Singyong* (the god of Labchi), *yulki sidhak* (village god of soil) and others.

After completing the *sang*, the *sarkim* (libation drink to the god) ritual is followed by him. In this process, the gods are generally worshipped through *chhyang*. In order to fulfill this ritual, the gods *sajyok gyalpo rahule*, *rinjin pema jyungne*, *khandu tashi chheringma singyong* and four corner deities are invoked.

The third process of *lhabsang* ritual is known as the *yangup* (to call for luck). This is one of the most important rituals of the follwoing act. Ortner (1978:40) writes, "And any family may at anytime commisssion the performance of a *yangup* ceremony by the lamas, to regain shore up the luck of the house." In this ritual, the assistant to the lama holds. the *dadar* before the lama *Dadar*, a symbolic material of luck, is a sacred wand dressed in silk or *khata*, in which money, grain, a written paper (describing the name of year and months) is compiled on the top, symbolically representing *yul-lha*. Therefore it is regarded as a sacred symbol of the family and the village. The symbolic meaning of holding the *dadar* is to regain or retain the luck of the house. The lama suggests to hold the *dadar* for some minutes for luck in spheres of life.

Then another ritual begins which is called *dazem*. Here *da* means (enemy or (demon) and *zem* means'to drive away). In one hand the ritual performer or the assistant holds a *dadar* and in the other a knife, representing *daflha* (enemy killing god). A knife is considered a weapon of the god and is used only for defeating demons, enemies or evil spirits. In this ritual the lama worships the god as *daflha* as it helps to drive away enemies. Finally the lama takes both the symbols above his head pretending to kill the enemy with this action. According to their belief if they are unable to drive away their enemies, they may be besieged with all kinds of trouble.

Coming to the last part of the ritual, the lama follows a blessing ceremony which is known as *tashi* (good wishes). This is performed even on the occasion of *losar* (new year festival). In this concluding ceremony the lama and some household members go out of the home and erect *tharsing* and invoke some hymns offering some *chhondi* (*chhoede*) then they all cry *ki-ki so so lha gyal lo* which means victory cry and glory be to the gods. Therefore, this is victory cry, 'thanking and seeing-off' the gods. The lama then distributes *tsampa* (flour) to everybody to get *tendil* (material fortune). The Sherpas believe strongly in their daily life.

It is common for every member of the family to seek the blessing and *gyan* of the lama in the form of butter. This is known as *tashigyan*. After the blessing, the lama places *gyan* (*tika* in Nepali) at three places of the head. At the time of blessing the lama invokes some blessing hymns, which are as follows:

> "Jigten denpi chou chepangme tyumin chhiwa malu jomjepi gonme dungal kurpa namki kyap. Sange chhepangme la chhyak chhalo logy chhosing tenggya thongwar syok. Tashi delek phinjum chhokpa syok."

Lunch, which generally comprises of cooked rice and curry, is then arranged for everybody. Besides this, *chhyang* is also served. However, at the time of serving *chhyang*, one should not forget to keep some portion of *tasmpa*, known as *chamgen* (*tsamgen*) on the

the glass. This indicates *tendil*. If there is no *tsamgen* (flour and butter or grains) it is considered as *namdok* (ill-luck). Generally *tsampa* (flour) is not kept on the rim of glasses for deceased person or during mortuary rites.

By observing some Sherpa ritual in Junbesi, Ortner (1978:186) has noted three points which are as follows: (i) Those peculiar items, the *torma* cakes; (ii) the special kind of help or benefit sought from the gods as protection, against the demons; and (iii) through which the right is formulated-that of social hospitality and the host-guest relationship. Actually people attend the party, *den*,[3] because they are invited and there is *chhyang*. They talk, drink and laugh. Strife among guests is not unusual. People are also invited on the occasion of *khaalak* which is performed at home annually. On this occasion, the host invites his neighbours not just to maintain good relation but because of social tradition. In this context there seems an artificial relationship between host and the guests. This is what I could see in the same village in 1978. The same characteristics can be found in Namche also. The Sherpas of Namche talk about the problem of *khaalak*, a kind of traditional gathering which is observed once in a year within their *pin* (consanguinial kin) group. Rotationally one has to invite the others for the purpose of fulfilling the cultural tradition. Although there may not be a good relationship between the host and the guests, except primary and consanguinial kin groups, one must arrange the following programme. Even on the occasion of *khaalak* in Namche Bazar, there was observed the artificial relational behaviour between the host and guests. But there will be no unanimous reason of breaking relationship between the two groups. As one informant expressed, the host invited his neighbours at *khaalak* gathering immediate after their meal or lunch. This is however a tricky invitation from which the invitees can not consume more food as they desire because of having food earlier at their own home. The host's cleverness and the invitee's ultimate understanding shows only the internal formal relation between them.

Now-a-days the young generation of Namche Bazar are gradually willing to transfer the *khaalak* at the time of *losar* (new year) festival because of realising inconvenience due to the involvement in trekking and mountaineering occupation.

In this connection, Lamobagar Sherpas do not invite to their neighbours on the occasion of *lhabsang* rite. As such there is no argument about the third point of Ortner. For this rite one household of Lamobagar spends about six *manas* rice for lunch and three*pathis* of chhyang is prepared for everybody. Besides this, butter is also essential for ritual as well as for the tea. As far as rice is concerned, Furer-Haimendorf (1984:80) has written, "Thirty years ago even wealthy families lived mainly on potatoes, buckwheat, dairy products and a minimum amount of vegetables, while rice was eaten only on the feast days. Today rice has become part of everyday diet....." By the same way Bjonness (1983:273) has also written that "Rice is the highest status food eaten by those who can afford it, while potato the main food for poor families. Almost all food supplies for the tourists and to a lesser extent for the locals, must be transported into Khumbu and aircrafts." "Rice is also consumed but the high cost of transport confines it primarily to ceremonial

use and the making of *chhyang* (local beer)" (Presern and Halligan, 1987: 133). Even in Khumbu, majority of the Sherpas who have not opened tourist lodges are still dependent on traditional food as is provided them by nature. Culturally they have a system of *khaponi sawo* whereby the menu of the house is changed daily. As they say "we have to change our mouth daily means some food varieties are changed for consumption. Even there are many Sherpas who have settled in Kathmandu, who also take their cultural food according to the system of *khaponi sawo*. But it does not mean that they do not take rice. Though rice is eaten but it is not considered as their liked food. In most of the villages (in Lamobagar, Bigu, Rolwaling and few villages of Solukhumbu) the Sherpas prepare rice at the time of ceremonial occasions.

Chilhapso

In regard to the communal or village rite, it commences at 9 o'clock in the morning. The villagers arrive, each carrying two or three sacred flags, *tharsings* or *tharchok* consisting of thin bamboo pole with squares of coloured plain cloth attached to it. These they tie on the flag-pole and carry out of the gonpa courtyard or go directly to *lhasu* (sacred shrine). It is that place where all *tharsings* and *tharchoks* are erected in the name of mountain gods with many offerings like burning incense, *chho-chhyhan* (offering beer), *chhondi* (offering grains), and prayers.

In course of performing this ritual, the lama while invoking the gods, chants, 'you are the lords, we are your guests, "you are our parents we are your issues, so do not give us any trouble, save our village and make us happy. We want to be rich like the water in pond. You will not create any problems rather you will help to solve them and give us peace and prosperity instead of strife. Help to eradicate diseases from the village." Concluding in loud voice, the lama and all other attendants give a big voice for victory as mentioned earlier. And they pray to the same gods as in *lhabsang* rite.

Conclusion

In order to perform this ritual, people collect two *manas* (Nepali measurement) of grain from every household for preparation of the *chhyang*. The responsibility of collection and preparation of this goes to one house according to monthly rotation. The man to whom the responsibilities goes by is known as *chhyangbi*. His main duty is first to collect the grain from every households. Then to prepare the beer and finally to serve the drinks to all attendants of the ceremony. On the appointed day, fourteen to sixteen people (both sexes) gather and consume five to six *pathis* (Nepali measurement) of *chhyang* which is considered as part and parcel of Sherpa life. Thus the *chilhapso* ritual is completed over. Most children do not drink but they gather and observe the activities of the lama and his attendants.

In conclusion, the Lamobagar Sherpas believe that they are attached to worldly gods and detached from evil spirits through the actions of a lama in the ritualistic context. Because of the automatic formation of natural and supernatural world, the villagers, except for the lamas, are all laymen who are sacred from supernatural forces. That is why the way of attachment and detachment through rituals has become a continual process in Nature-Man-Spirit world of the Sherpas. In one sense mountain (not all) is regarded

as a village god but in another sense it has played an important role in the economic life of the Sherpas. As far as the *lhabsang* rite is concerned, this is performed not to achieve any religious merit for the next life after death, but to safeguard, in the secular context, the maintenance of their livelihood. Thus the nature and spirits still determine Sherpa life. The major areas of Sherpa life and culture have continued to be in act because of ecology, religion and supernatural world has continued to remain the same. Man is (also) an expert being who forms an idea as to how to exploit nature to some extent and to get control over the spirits so that he can survive in society by any means.

Notes

(1) According to the Buddhist tradition, the term *gon-pa* should be located in solitary place which is to be built in 500 *domba* or 2000 feet 1*domba*= 4 feet in measurement)of distance from the village. Generally this place is very close to the forest. The Sherpa *gon-pa* is generally characterized by different canonical texts which are as follows: *kangyur, tyengyur, terje, bum* or *hyum, nyingmi gyu bum, jo chhembu nga* (I) *rincheen terje,* (II) *sechya kungkhyap jot.* (III) *dam-ngak jot,* (IV) *kagyu nga jot,* (V) *gyachhen ka jot, dorje chepa* (little *bum*), *tongchhar manikambum, kathag de nga, kumjang la mi syalung, pema kathang* etc. But, there is no hard and fast rule to be all religious texts in all monasteries and village temples.

(2) "Formerly in Tibet, as now in Sikkim, people used to kill animals to appease the wrath of evil spirits who were supposed to spread plagues and ride men or women. They were a terror to the people. Padma Sambhava abolished the system of animal sacrifices for which he substituted meal rice and cake sacrifices called *torma*. This is the origin of Buddhist worship with flour cakes now so common in the Himalayan countries and Tibet" (Das, 1980:79, F. N. 42).

(3) The Sherpa term *den* is derived from Tibetan term *mgron*. There are four types of *den* which are known as *dyon si* in Tibetan religious texts. Therefore, the Sherpas are also not unfamiliar with four types of *den*. The first type of *den* is known as *kon chhok si sui den*. The second one is known as *gonbo yonden ki den*. The third one is called *rik thuk ngingje ki den* and the fourth one is called *pulan lenchhyak ki den*. The first three type of *den* are mainly concerned with religious activities while the fourth one is related with social activities.

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Nepal

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

In 1884-85, M. Bendall discovered in Nepal at Bhatgaon (Golmadhitol) a new inscription of Civadeva which he published as early as the month of April 1885 in the Indian Antiquary (XIV, 97). Without a word of explanation or Justification without even mentioning the vast divergence between this reading and the date 535 furnished by Bhagvanlal he interpreted the signs of the date by samvat 318 and he concluded from it without further discussion. The date of this inscription can contribute to the solution of the questions so embarrassing of the eras between the Caka era and those of Cri Harsa. Containing three numerical signs the first of which is the symbol for 300, it can scarcely be connected to any other save the era commencing 319 J.C. which certain people still regard as the "Gupta-Valabhi era". One of these 'persons' M. fleet, who was just then about to demonstrate once for all the identity of the era 319 and the Gupta era, hastened to greet this new inscription as the 'fundamental note" (key-note) of Nepalese chronology. Commencing from this datum: samvat 318-Gupta (318/319/320 J.C.)- 637/638 J.C., he arranged a complete new system of chronology. "The chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal" in "Ind. Ant." XIV, 342-251; published once again in volume III of the Corpus:

"The inscription of the Early Gupta kings",(Appendix IV, p. 177- 191) M. Bendall published the inscription once again this time with a photograph facsimile in his report; A journey..... the Nepal Cambridge 1886, p. 72, Appendix 1; he added this time a reserve on the figure of the units, which could have been a 6 as well as an 8. In the very text of the Report (p. 13-14) he insisted on the "admirable unity" of the date interpreted by the Gupta era and the other date concerning Amcuvarman.

Since 1894 (Note 'on the chronology of Nepal in Asiat. Journ. IV, 55-72) I have had the occasion to protest against the so-called rectified chronology which Messrs. Bendall and Fleet had placed in circulation. The inscription of Khopasi corroborated by the fragmentary inscriptions of Thoka and of Dharampur, (does decidedly justice) refutes

these combinations. The figure of the hundreds, with Civadeva, is 500 and not 300.

Buhler in Index IX of his 'Indian Paleography' wrongly unites under the same heading of 300, the two signs borrowed one from the inscription of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and the other from that of Civadeva in the Golmadhi-tol; he has also wrongly omitted under the heading 500, the sign furnished by the inscription of 4 of Bhagvanlal. One could be led to believe that Buhler had wished by this omission to indicate that he rejected the interpretation of the Pundit; but it must not be forgotten that it is Buhler himself who has translated and published the memoir of Bhagvanlal written in Gujarati, and that he expressly claims his portion of responsibility in the preface. The difference of the two signs 300 and 500 explodes when approached, as does Buhler in his Index. The sign of 300 is regularly constituted by the figure of the hundred (whatever be the tracing) with the addition of two dashes connected the stem of the hundred and that bend in separating from their fastening; it is there a regular and constant form that is observed in Nepal even in the inscriptions of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and at Lajanpat. Beginning from 400, as Buhler observes (p. 74) the symbols are constituted by the ligatures of the hundred with the characteristic traits of the numbers 4 to 9. The ligature of 100 is figured in the 500 of Civadeva, by a sign very analogous to our 3; this sign is connected by a horizontal stroke to a vertical stem whence two clearly horizontal strokes part towards the left; the higher stroke connected to the extremity of the stem, is the longer; the other, inserted below the connecting point of the stroke that binds in a contrary direction the stem to the ligature of the 100 bends at its extremity and ends in a complete curve. It suffices for one to look back upon the very index of Buhler to the series of the units to find therein the sign corresponding with the value 5, especially the sign of column VII, borrowed from the Kusanas. Bhagvanlal in his study on the Ancient numerical signs in Nagari (Ind.Antiq, VI, 42 sqq) reproduces the same form according to the inscriptions of the Guptas, but without precise reference. The sign of 500 is then very regularly formed by the combination of the hundred with its particular unit, in every way like in the case of 400 of 600 of 700.

One must then read in the inscription of the Golmadhitol, like in the other inscriptions of Civadeva and like in the inscription 4 of Bhagvanlal, for the hundreds: 500

The inscriptions of Civadeva are of 518 (Golmadhi-tol) and 520 (Khopasi). They thus contain the series opened by the inscription of Changu Narayan (386) and prolonged by Lajanpat (387), To-Bahal (402), Bhag.2 (412), Bhag. 3 (435), Kisipidi (449). Tsapaligaon (489) and closed by Bhag 4 (535). If I take for origin of the era the year 33 current caka, in basing my workings on the supplementary month furnished by the inscription of Kisipidi(449 samvat) the year 520 samvat corresponds to 553 current caka-631 J.C.I have already shown in an independent way in a Note on chronology (As. Journ.) 1894, 11, 55 sq) that the year 34 of Amcuvarman must correspond to 629 J.C. The first inscription of Amcuvarman dates from 4 (4?); I have attempted to mark the progress of his authority in the very contents of his charts (11, 138 sqq) between these two extreme dates; the first must correspond to 625 AD. If my calculations are correct on either side the two reigns thus overlap each other; this apparent

confusion is only undoubtedly the real reflection of a fairly confused reality. All the charts of Civadeva that we possess are drawn on the reports of the Mahasamanta Amcuvarman the praise of whom entirely shadows that of the sovereign. One can easily imagine fairly varied hypotheses to account for these facts; Civadeva could have preserved a nominal authority in a restricted jurisdiction of province or territory remaining the whole under the tutorship of his mayor of palace; beyond this jurisdiction, Amcuvarman would have exercised supreme authority. If one observes that the actually known inscriptions of Amcuvarman leave a break between the year 34-629 A.D. and the year 39-634 A.D. and that on the other hand the actually known inscriptions of Civadeva precisely fit this short interval (518 samvat-629 A.D. 520 samvat-631 A.D.). One can still conjecture that Amcuvarman must have by reasons of foreign or home policy accepted or restored a sovereign of the legitimate dynasty the Licchavi Civadeva.

At the same time a difficulty that embarrassed the combination of Mr. Fleet is made clear and is solved.

I remind that the inscription of 535 (Bhag. 4) has for dutaka the rajaputra Vikramasena and that the inscription of Amcuvarman, Samvat 34 (Bhag 6) has for dutaka the maha--yaka Vikra; name restored by Bhagvanlal in Vikramasena. M. fleet, in citing this inscription (Gupta Insc., p. 178 u.2 takes care to add; "If we accept the restitution of Bhagvanlal we must take great care not to confuse this personage with the rajaputra Vikramasena who is the dutaka of the inscription of samvat 536, "two hundred and odd years later."

But the rajaputra Vikramasena now reappears in a new inscription of Amcuvarman at Sanga, year 23 with the title of sarvadandanayaka. Here the reading is precise and the identity of the personage become manifest. On the one hand an inscription dated 535 and the close resemblance of the characters of which classifies to the testimony of its first editor side by side with an inscription of Civadeva contemporary and nominal suzerain of Amcuvarman; on the other hand a personage identical in name and title appears in that inscription and in an inscription of Amcuvarman. Is it reasonable to divide him in two and to create a break of two hundred years and more between the halves of the personage ?

The date of 535 appears it is true, to raise a new difficulty reckoned from the year 110 A.D.-0 for origin the year 535 corresponds to 646 A.D.; at that time Amcuvarman is dead. Is it not within one's right to expect to find exclusively in use the new era introduced by Amcuvarman and continued for at least a century and a half by his successors? But I have already described (11,155) the period of unheavals that followed the death of Amcuvarman; Jisnugupta irregular heir of the poor, recognizes for suzerain a Licchavi; If in samvat 48 he makes use of Amcuvarman's era, he appears in Thankot to return to the Licchavis' era. Now the inscription of 535 presents the same decisive feature as that of Thankot; whereas Civadeva faithful to the practice of the Licchavis redoubles constanly the silent after 'r' the inscriptions of 535 does not redouble; it writes 'purva' (4,7) bhumer daksina (9) parvata (11,12) vartibhir (17) and not varttibhir as Bhagvanlal transcribes erroneously. It adopts the orthographical system inaugurated by Amcuvarman and continued by his successors; it thus classifies itself outside and after the series of Civadeva.

It is so it appears to me verification and a further guarantee to the benefit of the chronological system that I proposed.

1. Svasti Managrhad aparimitagunasampal Licchavikutanandekaro.....

Translation–

(to the text on pages 79 & 80)

(1-4). Greeting of Managrha. His numberless virtues, perfect are the pride of the Licchavi race; the sovereign the great king Civadeva, in good health to the inhabitants of the village of Kurpasi notables foremost heads of families, wishes the good-day and makes known.

(4-12) Know this: This personage whose virtues like precious stones, irradiate illuminate and disperse the night (darknesses) of ignorance, who always prostrated at the feet lotus of the holy Bhava has taken it on him to assure in the future the salvation and happiness whose arms powerful couple have uprooted all the united enemies the great marquis Amcuvarman has drawn me a report and authorized by me he has granted you the favour to forbid the entry to all the spheres (of justice). In all affairs that will come to be debated, it is the local proprietor who will have to submit to you for his examination. And for all affairs you will have one gate alone. And at the time of the opening of the gate and of the procession of the Kailasa Kuta you will have to give one by one fifty chalks (bits of) naturally white.

And for the long preservation of this privilege has been engraved on a stone slab.

(13-17) And now that it is known nobody not even those employed with me or others must change anything of this privilege. And who-so-ever infringing my order would make it void, either personally or by instigation I shall absolutely not tolerate that he should violate the fixed stipulations. And the kings to come, they also, by respect for the law in accordance with the privilege that I impose to their respect, must well maintain this regulation.

(17-18). The delegate is here Decavarma-Gomin. Year 520, month of Caitra, dark fortnight fifth day.

XIII--Stela 1 of Harigaon

The two inscriptions of Amcuvarman at Harigaon are erected symmetrically at the two corners of a platform that supports a chapel on the side facing North in the middle of the causeway that crosses the village from North to South and close to the steep descent that leads to the pillar already described. The inscription I cover a height of about 0=m, 55 and a width of 0=m, 30; the height of the characters is 0=m, 011. The stela has a rounded and carefully adorned fronton. In the centre two foliages facing each other borne on a low socle the head of the socle supports a stem, inflated halfway up that separates the foliage and blooms in a lengthened calyx, serving as a supports to a kind of square crest, ridged with widened flutings and flanked on the sides with protruding faces. Under this stylish sketch, one however, recognizes the essential lines of the vase with the lengthened neck adorned with flowers. On the right, a shell–work (caukha); on the left, a serpent-stone (caligrama); both these are emblems of Visnu and are set on curved petals that frame them. The fronton is separated from the text by a net spangled with pearls.

The inscription is entirely in Sanscrit and in prose. Its orthography is fairly regular. One must however observe, that as early as

his first edict, Amcuvarman breaks away from the traditional style of the Licchavis writing which doubled the consonant after 'r'. He writes 'varman' etc. The detail is worth noticing in-as-much that it concords with the tradition (Hionentsang, Kirkpatrick) which speaks of Amcuvarman as a grammarian king The character is the same as in inscription already known of Amcuvarman. Amcuvarman as a 'maha samanta' institutes a fairly large number of grants (prasada) destined to different kinds of beneficiaries divinities, temples, officials, animals, doors, roads. The grants are evidently connected to a ceremony the mention of the horse and the elephant which took part in the ceremony of the anointing, leads to believe that the occasion is the 'abhiseka', the coronation of Amcuvarman The details seem to agree with this hypothesis. We do not possess, it is true any authentic description of a historical abhiseka. The Vedic texts whatever be the dates alloted them only describe the ceremony from a ritual point of view. The epopees do not also give a combined account. The Maha Bharata which describes at length the rajasuya of Yudhisthira to the Sabha-parvan summarily relates the coronation of the same king in the XLIth adihaya of the Cantiparvan. The Ramyana relates in greater details the preparations of the coronation of Rama II, 15. In short the Agni-Purana treats on the royal coronation in its CCXVIIIth adhyaya Goldstucker, in his imperfect Dictionary has given a remarkable monography of the abhiseka (s.v.) and Weber has taken up the subject in his memorandum; Diekonigsweihe (rajasuya) in the Abh. Ak. Wiss of Berlin, 1893. I have taken pains in the notes of the Inscription, to mark the connections between the data of the inscription itself and the texts I have just cited.

The donations are estimated in pu and in pa. The mention of panagrahana in 1.4 and the analogy of several other inscriptions, published or still unpublished shows clearly that it concerns panans (pa) and puranas (pu). The purana is a silver coin also designaed under the name of Karsapana (p.ex. inscr. of Jisnugpta at Thankot, inf) Rapson (Indian Coins, p. 2) fixes the weight and the value of the purana to 3 grams,79 of silver and that of the pana to 9 grams. 48 of copper, The inscription only indicates the sum total of the amounts; but it is evident that is not a question of a single payment Amcuvarman would not have needed to have engraved his edict or to recommend its regular execution to future kings. One can now ask oneself if it concerned a daily payment, a monthly or yearly one. But Sanscrit literature is so poor in real informations that it is difficult to decide. The only text to my knowledge that treats on salaries regarding the court of the king is to be found in Manu, VII, 125 and 126:

rajakarmasu yuktanam striman presyajansya ca pratyaham kalapayed vrttim sthanakarmanurupatah pano deyo vakrstasya and uttkrstasya vetanam sanmasikas tathacchado dhanyadronac ca masikah

To the women employed in the royal

(Foot Note to page 83 'Nepal', Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. The Pancatantra, III. fable 1, describes with a few interesting details the coronation of the owl as king; but this development is missing in the recension of the south published by M. Hertel.

and domestic services the king must assure the daily maintenance, in relation with the rank and work of each. To the lowest of all a pana must be given, to the higher ones six panas as salary and further, every six months, some clothes to cover themselves with and every month a bushel (drona) of grain." The commentator kulluka specifies that the salary indicated,is the daily salary and he gives as an example of the meanest employments, the sweeper (samarjaka) and the water-carrier (udakavaha). Both are found again in the chart of Amcuvarman; In it the water-carrier (Paniya-karmantika) receives 2 puranas and 2 panas or 34 panas; the sweepress (samarjoyitri) 1 purana and 4 panas or 20 panas. It concerns probably an annual income served out to all the auxiliaries of the coronations.

The inscription is dated samvat 30, corresponding to 625 J.C. I must content myself here to refer to my chapter on the history and to my 'Note' on the chronology, to justify the equivalence proposed. I can however indicate that the difficulty that embarrassed Mr. Kielhorn (list of North-Inscrps., No 530 and note) after me, is definitely side-tracked. The date of the abbiseka in samvat 30 shows well that Amcuvarman did not found but borrowed the era he makes use of; but it is not from Harsa that he borrowed his era more or less voluntarily.

One can observe that the conclusive formulary contrasts by its modest reserve with the rigorous threats that Civadeva employs and that Amcuvarman himself introduces in it later. Amcuvarman tries his skill still timidly in the exercise of the personal power.

Text.

1. (Svasti kailaskuta bhavanat parahitaniratapravrttiaya krtayuga (etc., see pages 85, 86, 87, 88, 89) (in connection with the text on above pages)

2. The word anudyata replaces here at the end of wording Bhagavat-Pacupati... the usual term anugrhita that is seem in the inscriptions of Amcuvarman dated 34 (Bhag.6) and 39 (Bhag.7). The inscriptions of samvat 32 and 34 (Bend. p; 74) are truncated in the corresponding portion. Anugrhita is also employed regularly in the same wording by Jisnugupta (Bhag.9 and 10; and inscription of Thankot.)

3. The worning bappapadaparigrhita is an expressive anomaly, The regular and constant wording is bappapadanudhyata. Without increasing too easily the examples outside Nepalese epigraphy, I shall content myself with mentioning that this last wording is found only in the other inscription actually known of Amcuvarman; he borrows it, himself, from the wording of his predecessor Civadeva (key, inscr. Golmadhi- tol, in Bendall my inscription of Bhatgaon, etc...) who received it in his turn from his predecessors (Vasantadeva, inscr. Bhag. 3 my inscr. of Kisipidi, etc...); and after Amcuvarman it is again this only wording his successors employ. The present derogation is in itself a fact that calls for attention. Already in the preceding note I mentioned another anomaly in relation with this one, the transfer of the word 'anudhyata in a wording where its presence was unexpected and where it w s ordinarily substituted by anugrhita.Parigrhita exteriorily recalls this last word, as if it had to give the change; in fact there is quite a different and very precise meaning. The word parigrha

designates the admission in the family and therefore it is applied to the spouse and to the 'familia'. The pravaradhyaya (Weber. Cat. Berlin. Hss,. 1.59). even expressly applies it to the adoption: "athadattaka-kritaka-krtrima putrikah paraparigrahena nanarse-yene jatah"... and it opposes the father who begetted "utpadayitar" to the father who had adopted parigrhitar (purvah pravara utpadayitur uttarah parigrahituh). Kulluka commenting upon Manu IX,168, on the adoption, also calls the foster-father parigrahitar (matapitaran parasparam amujnaya yam putram parigrahetuh samanajatiyam...). In the dynasty of the imperial Guptas, Candragupta 11 designates himself as son parigrheta of Samudragupta and this especial qualification is regularly given to him by his successor; Samudra-guptasya putras tatparigrhito mahadevyam utpanah. Mr. Fleet (Gupta Inscription p. 12,N.1) interprets this word by "accepted (as favourite child and successor by choice)." This interpretation does not seem to me to match with the meaning of parigrheta and it is not suitable in the case of Amcuvarman since Amcurvarman was the son-in-law and not the son of his predecessor Civadeva. I translate in both cases: "admitted into the family by adoption."

9. The word cri before devyah is very dubious. It may perhaps concern a local designation.... Aroh is on the contraly the almost certain reading. It is little probable that the question is the word Aru given by a lexicographer as a name for the Sunsasthi is properly the name of the sixth day that follows the birth and that ends the critical period of new-born children; Sasthi devi presides over it and she is the object of an especial worship under that title. But Sasthi by the evidence of lexicons has become an appellation of Durga or Devi. Perhaps Amcuvarman has chosen here because she presided on the donation which is dated with the Sasthi the 6th, clear tithi of Jyaistha.

10. Bhattaraka is undoubtedly Pacupati who regularly receives this title, for example even here, 1.2.- Mahabatadyaksa is a title that appears so far appropriate to Nepal. India only gives the equivalent maha-baladhikrta (Inscr. of Hastin, Gup (7) 191, in Fleet, Gupta Inscription 108; inscr. of Buddharaja the Kalacuri Epigr. Ind., VI. 300; key batadhikrta, inscr. of Cantilla, vassal of the kalacuris, ib.,11,23). Manu mentions the batadhyaksa side by side with the senapti, VII, 189. Another inscription of Amcuvarman samvat 34 (Bend. p.74) gives us the name of his mahabaladhyaksa: Vindusvamin.

11. Prsadadhikrta is a title I have not met elsewhere; but it is exactly symmetrical to baladhikrta that I have just mentioned.... Abhisekahastin. The ceremony of the coronation required an elephant in fact (Ramayana 11,15, coronation of Rama; mattac ca varavaranah, u. 8(matto Jajavarah, Gorr.) as well as white horse; ib., VII. panduracvac ca samsthitah; likewise the Agin Purana. Bibl. Ind., ch. 218; acvam aruhya nagam ca pujayet tam samarohet.

12. Dhavaka. The reading of the world is in its whole very clear; the second letter is dubious; the cuve of it is not closed and the aspect is rather that of an 'r' with a stroke bent towards the left at the foot of the stem. I scarcely knew how to interpret the sign below ma, and the interpretation of the word remains entirely enigmatic.

13. "Camaradhara. The tail of the yak (chowrie) is a royal mark and figures regularly in the coronation (Ramay., V.10: valayyajanam-Camara, Gorr.)

14. Paniyakarmantika. The commentator of Ramayana on 11, 80, 2 explains well karmantika by vetana-jivin "who lives on a salary." The work of the karmantika is opposed to the visit" the task not remmunerated." It concerns perhaps the water necessary for the coronation and the task in this case was rather arduous; the Brahmans demand rain water gathered before falling on the earth and at the moment the Sun is shining; the Ramayana mentions for the coronation of Rama the waters taken at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna and all kinds of especial waters.

Pithadhyaksa Pitha is the very term the Ramayana employs for the royal throne V.4; bhadrapitham svalamkrtam. The P.W. refers to a passage of the Cankaravijya of Anandagiri cited by Aufrecht, cat Mss. Oxon. 251 for the term pithadhyaksa; Cankara found a sort of academy on the bank of the Tungabhadra and leaves Surecvara there as pithadhyaksa. Aufrecht translates "scholae magister" very doubtful meaning. Pitha designates very well the sacred sites and especially in Nepal the places consecrated by the relics of Devi.

15. Puspapataka that is missing in P. W. is a synonym of Puspaketu that designates by a periphrasis the Love... I ignore here what particular function there is question of.

Nandi is given in P. W. as the name of an undetermined musical instrument.

16. The argha is a select gift given on the occasion of the coronation. Judhisthera, in offering the argha to Krsna (Maha-Bharata 11, adhy. 36-38) loosens the furious jealousy of Cicupala at the time of his rajasuya.

18. "Managrha" is the palace of the Licchavi kings.

19. "Samarjayitri" is omitted in P.W. For the importance of his funetion in court, key for example, Cakuntala, act V (ed. Niranyasagar, P. 159; "ahinavasammajjna-sasiro.. aggisarunalindo". " Yadiyatrayam" is very clear on the stone, but the inscription is very embarrassing. It may perhaps be necessary to correct: "Yatrayam, but "yadi" is still very mysterious.

Translation

(of text on page 85, 86, 87, 88, 89)

(1-5) Greeting. From the palace of Kailasa-kuta. The property of another suits the exercise of his employment. The golden age finds in him (his resurrection). The holy Pacupati, the worshipped lord follows him in thought. His adored father has chosen him by adoption. The great marquis Amcuvarman who is in good health, addresses himself to those who are about to receive his favours and who are qualified to draw the salary in the prescribed limits; to those actually present and those to come he makes known. Let this be known to you.

(5.8) To avoid that (contestations) should arise among those who receive the royal favours... in connection with the limitation. By the effect of a donation in the usual forms, I have, according to the example of the kings my predecessors, given in the usual forms... that which is inscribed here.

(9-19) To the venerable Devi 3 pu, 1 pa; to Aru 3 pu. pa; to ... pa; to the temple of Sasthi 3 pu, 1 pa; to the adorable Lord,

one by one, pu pa; to the great inspector of the army 25 pu; to the perfect of donations 25 pu; to the elephant of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; to the horse of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; 3 to the dhavakagecch-imaka, 3 pu, 1 pa; to the bhands... 2 pu, 2 pa; to the bearer of the fly-flap 2 pu, 2 pa; to the standard bearer 2 pu, 2 pa; to the ...2 pu, 2 pa; to the water worker 2 pu, 2 pa; to the watcher of the seat 2 pa, 2 pu. to the .. pu, 2 pa; to he who carries Puspapataka 2 pu, 2 pa; to the drummers and conch blowers. pu. to the chief of the.. 2 pu, 2 pa; to the horse in the shape of a present. pu 2 pa; to the Southern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to ... 1 pu, 4 pa; to the great gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the western gate 1 pu, 4 pa; ... to the gate of Managrha 1 pu pa; to the gate of the centre 1 pu, 4 pa; to the Northern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the sweepress 1 pu, 4 pa; to the man of trust and to the driver during the procession... 20 pu....

(20-22) Knowing that it is thus be they persons attached to our persons in the name of our indulgence or others nobody must change this grant; and the kings to come must conform themselves to this grant and respect it.

Direct order

Samvat 30, the 6th. of the clear fortnight of Jyaistha.

(To be continued)

(Foot Note to page 90, 'Nepal', Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. For this meaning of pratole, see Vogel in the Kern Album p. 235-237.

श्री ३ जुद्ध : केही टिपोटहरू

–डा. जगदीशचन्द्र रेग्मी

इतिहास विषयको गम्भीर अध्ययन गर्ने प्रयासमा इतिहासकारहरूलाई धेरै किसिमका बाधाहरू आइपुग्छन् सामग्रीको प्राप्ति र अप्राप्तिको स्थिति सम्बन्धी । नेपालको इतिहासको अध्ययनको प्रसंगमा यो स्थिति अझ स्पष्ट छ ।

नेपालको इतिहास लेख्न बस्दा स्थितिमल्लपछिको काल तात्कालिक इतिहाससम्बन्धी सामग्री उपकरण–को उपलब्धिको दृष्टिले पहिलो कालावधि देखिन्छ । यस कालसम्बन्धी धेरै सामग्री पाइन्छन् । त्यसपछि श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको समयदेखिको कालको लागि पर्याप्त ऐतिहासिक सामग्री प्राप्त हुन्छन् र अझ क्रमशः अगाडि बढ्दै आउँदा प्रशस्त सामग्री पाउन थालिन्छ । तर त्यस्ता धेरै जसो सामग्री सरकारी कार्यालयहरूमा र व्यक्तिगत संग्रहहरूमा परिरहेका छन् जुनको प्रकाशन छिटो छिटो भैरहेको देखिदैन । तैपनि त्यस्ता सामग्रीहरूको फाटफुट प्रकाशनबाट आधुनिक नेपालको इतिहासका धेरै घटना बुझ्न सकिने हुनगएको छ ।

सं. १८२६ देखिको आधुनिक इतिहासको वा सं. १९०३ देखिको आधुनिक इतिहासको इतिहास धेरैले लेखेका छन् । एक त इतिहास लेख्ने काममा कहिले विरामचिन्ह लाग्दैन त्यसमाथि नेपालमा इतिहास लेख्ने र पढ्ने चलनले सामाजिक र सरकारी मान्यता पाइसकेकै छैन । त्यसकारणले मानवीय प्रयासको उदाहरणको रूपमा एउटा लोभलाग्दो पठनीय मननीय वस्तु इतिहास यहाँ उपेक्षित नै छ ।

इतिहासकार एउटा सामाजिक–राजनीतिक चित्रकार हो जसले अक्षरात्मक चित्र (पेन्टिङ्ग) बनाउँछ अनेक थरीका तथ्यात्मक घटनाका रंगहरूको संयोजनबाट । समाजका सभ्य सदस्यहरूबाट त्यस्तो चित्र हेरिदेओस्–बुझिदेओस् भन्ने अपेक्षा ऊ राख्छ ।

सं. १९०३ पछिको शाह–राणाकालको इतिहास आफैमा अति रोचक छ आपाततः हेर्दा पनि । विश्वकै इतिहासमा वा राजनीतिमा यो एउटा नौलो प्रयोग हो– नेपाली समाजले गरेको । त्यो प्रयासमा यहाँ प्रस्तुत छ श्री ३ जुद्धको उदाहरण ।

इतिहासको निकटतमकालमा एकातिर 'राजर्षि' कहिने र अर्कोतिर विवादास्पद व्यक्तित्व पाएका श्री ३ जुद्ध इतिहासकारहरूका लागि एक महत्त्वपूर्ण आकर्षण र इतिहासका एक उदाहरणको रूपमा देखिन्छन् ।

प्रस्तुत लेखमा श्री ३ जुद्धबारे वा उनको सम्पूर्ण राजनीतिक वा सामाजिक व्यक्तित्वबारे व्यवस्थित इतिहास प्रस्तुत गरिएको छैन र त्यो छिटो सम्भव हुने कुरा पनि हैन । यहाँ हामी उक्त व्यक्तिसम्बन्धी ऐतिहासिक महत्त्वका फुटकर टिपोटहरू प्रस्तुत गर्दछौं

जसले पछि गएर सिलसिलेबार इतिहास प्रस्तुत गर्न मद्दत दिनेछ भन्ने आशा गरिन्छ ।

वि. सं. १९८९ भाद्र १७ गते बिहीवार श्री ३ भीमशमशेरको स्वर्गवास भयो र त्यसै दिन कम्याण्डर–इन–चीफ जुद्धशमशेर श्री ३ भएका थिए ।[1] तेह्र वर्ष शासन गरेपछि उनले सं. २००२ मंसीर १४ गते राज्यत्याग गरी कम्याण्डर इन चीफ रहेका पद्मशमशेरलाई श्री ३ को श्रीपेच लगाइदिएका थिए ।[2]

नयराज पन्तले जुद्धशमशेरको राज्य-त्यागबारे यस्तो टिपोट लेख्नु भएको छ:–

सं. २००२ मार्ग १४ गते बृहस्पतिवार दिउँसो साढे १२ बजे सुनको तोडा लाउनेसम्मका वा सो सरहका जङ्गी तथा निजामती कर्मचारीहरू उर्दी बमोजिम सिंहदरबारमा भेला भएका थिए । एक बजे नेपालका प्रधानमन्त्री श्री ३ महाराज जुद्धशमशेरले आफ्नो पालामा भएको देशको उन्नतिको संक्षेपमा वर्णन गर्नुभयो तथा वर्णाश्रमधर्म अनुसार अब म आफ्नो बाँकी जीवन शान्तिपूर्वक बिताउन चाहन्छु; यस–कारण आपनो अधिकार भतिजा कम्याण्डर इन चीफ पद्मशमशेरलाई सुम्पन्छु भनी सबैलाई सुनाउनुभयो । १।५५ बज्दा श्री ३ जुद्धले १३ वर्षदेखि आफूले लाएको श्रीपेच पद्मशमशेरलाई आफैले लाइदिई उहाँलाई राज्यभार सुम्पनुभयो । पूरा ७० वर्ष हुनुभएका राजर्षि जुद्धशमशेर सवा २ बजे स्वाभाविक ढंगसंग हँसिलो मुख गरेर रिडी जान भनी बग्गी चढेर सिंहदरबारबाट निस्कनु भयो ।"[3]

स्व. श्री धनशमशेर ज. ब. रा. ले सं. १९८९ मा प्रकाशित गर्नुभएको श्रीविद्या सम्बन्धी तान्त्रिक ग्रन्थ 'श्रीपराविभूतिस्तोत्रम्' मा श्री ३ जुद्धको चित्र राखी यस्तो एक संस्कृत श्लोक उनैको वर्णनमा लेख्नु भएको छ –

श्रीश्रीश्रीमन्नरेन्द्रान् सकलहितकरान् क्षात्रधर्म्मेप्रदीष्तान्
नेपालेशान्प्रजानां निखिलभयहरान् सर्वसौभाग्यदातॄन् ।।
राणानाथान् वरेण्या नपरपशुपतीन् जुद्धशम्शेरदेवान्
नत्वाभक्त्या मयेतद्विरचितमधुना सूक्ष्मग्रन्थाभिधानम्।।[4]

जुद्धशमशेर श्री ३ भएकै वर्ष छापिएको उक्त किताबमा प्रस्तुत उद्धृत श्लोकमा उनलाई 'अपर पशुपति' (अर्का पशुपति) भनिएको छ ।

काशीबाट (?) प्रकाशित हुने गरेको एक संस्कृत पत्रिका 'ब्राह्मणमहासम्मेलनम्' को सन् १९३३ तिरको (?) कुनै अंकको पृष्ठ ३६१–६२ मा 'नेपाल–भूपतेधर्मरक्षापरायणता' शीर्षकमा श्री ३ जुद्धको तारीफ गरी लेखिएको छ, जुन तल उद्धृत बमोजिम छ:–

"गोर्खाराज्यस्य शासनसूत्रं सम्प्रति श्री ३ युद्धसंसेर महाराजस्याऽधिकारे वर्तते । एकमपि वर्षमधुना पूर्णं न जातं महाराज एष नाना-प्रकाराणि धार्मिककार्याणि कृतवानिति महान् हर्षोऽस्माकं चित्ते समुत्पद्यते । अस्यैव वर्षस्यारम्भे महाराजोऽसौ शासनसूत्रं स्वाधिकारे प्राप्तवान् । अधिकारप्राप्तिसमनन्तरमेव विप्रानाहूय समु-पदिष्टवान् यत् भवद्भिर्विप्रोचितं स्नानसन्ध्या-देवपूजापञ्चमहायज्ञादिकं पठनपाठनादिकं च नित्यनैमित्तिकं कर्म यथाकालमस्खलितमनुष्ठातव्यम्। तदेव विप्राणां परमं कर्तव्यम् । प्राप्तेऽवसरे धार्मिककार्यमनतिक्रम्य राजसेवा शक्यते चेत् करणीयेति । अन्यच्च संस्कृतशास्त्ररक्षायै छात्राणां मासिकं द्रव्यं १२ मुद्रात्मकं साहाय्यं प्रतिच्छात्रं प्रदत्तम् । अन्यान्यपि बहूनि तादृशानि कर्माणि कृतानि ।

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१. नयराज पन्त, **पूर्णिमा** ४०, पृष्ठ १९३
२. ऐजन, पृष्ठ १९९.
३. **पूर्णिमा** २१, पृष्ठ. ७२–७३.
४. श्री मेजर जनरल धनशमशेर जङ्गबहादुर राणा, **श्रीपराविभूतिस्तोत्रम्**, केशरी प्रेस, कलकत्ता, संवत् १९८९

पुनरधुना क्षत्रियाणां वंशे वर्णसाङ्कर्यं न भवतु इति 'सवर्णां स्त्रियं विहाय नान्यजातीयाः स्त्रियो राजकुमारैः कैरपि पत्नीत्वेन स्वीकरणीयाः। यदि क्रियेरंस्तर्हि तेभ्योऽसवर्णासु स्त्रीषु जाता : प्रजा पैतृकं रिक्थं न लभेरन्नि ' ति नियमः स्थिरीकृतः। इदं च कृत्यं सर्वथा शास्त्रीयम् , यथा मनुः–

हीनजातिस्त्रियं मोहादुद्वहन्तो द्विजातयः ।
कुलान्येव नयन्त्याशु ससंतानानि शूद्रताम् ॥
तत्राऽपि शूद्रकन्या तु नितान्तं निषिद्धा । तथा हि–
न ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियपोरापद्यपि हि तिष्ठतोः।
कस्मिंश्चिदपि वृत्तान्ते शूद्रा भार्योपदिश्यते ॥

एवं

स्वक्षेत्रे संस्कृतायां तु स्वयमुत्पादयेद्धि यम् ।
तमौरसं विजानीयात्पुत्रं प्रथमकल्पितम् ॥
एक एवौरसः पुत्रः पित्र्यस्य वसुनः प्रभुः ।
शेषाणामानृशंस्यार्थं प्रदद्यात्तु प्रजीवनम् ॥

धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेणैव नेपालराज्ये साम्प्रतिको राजा सर्वाणि शासनानि निर्मापयतीत्यनेन सिध्यति। नीतिशास्त्रेऽपि राजा वर्णाश्रमधर्मस्य रक्षां कुर्वाण एव श्रेयोभागी भवतीति बहुषु स्थानेषु प्राधान्येन समुद् घोषितमस्ति। यथा कामन्दको (के ?) राजनीतौ-स्वर्गानन्त्याय धर्मोऽयं–

सर्वेषां वर्णिलिङ्गिनाम् ।
तस्याभावे तु लोकोऽयं
सङ्करान्नाशमाप्नुयात् ॥
सर्वस्याऽस्य यथान्यायं
भूपतिः सम्प्रवर्तकः ।
तस्याऽभावे धर्मनाश–
स्तदभावे जगच्च्युतिः ॥
वर्णाश्रमाचारपुत्र्यो
वर्णाश्रमविभागवित् ।
पाता वर्णाश्रमाणां च
पार्थिवः स्वर्गलोकभाक् ॥

ईदृशधार्मिकराजनैतिकवचानानुसारं नेपालनरेश उत्तरोत्तरं स्वप्रजासु धर्मशास्त्रीयनियमानुष्ठानं शासनद्वारा प्रचारयन्नस्तीति धर्मावताराय तस्मै दीर्घतरमायु प्रददात्विति मृत्युञ्जयो भगवानस्माभिः सदा प्रार्थ्यते।''[5]

उपर्युक्त लेखमा श्री ३ जुद्धले वर्णसंकरको विरोधमा पाइला उठाएको कुराले सं. १९९० चैत्र ५ गते आइतवारका दिन श्री ३ भीमबाट रोलमा चढाइएका 'मठ्याहा राणा'हरूलाई रोलबाट झिकी राजधानी बाहिर धपाएको घटनालाई[6] संकेत गरेको छ।

यो काण्डमा श्री ३ वीरका 'मठ्याहा छोरा' रूद्रशमशेर, तेजशमशेर र श्री ३ भीमका 'मठ्याहा छोरा' हिरण्यशमशेर आदि रोलबाट झिकिएका सबैले राजधानीमा पस्नै नपाउने भएका थिए। तर 'श्री ३ जुद्धले त रूद्रहरूको रोलमात्र खोसे, जागीर तथा चल अचल सम्पत्तिमा हात हालेनन् (जबकि श्री ३ वीर र उनका भाइहरूले श्री ३ जंग आदि आफ्ना काकाका सन्तानहरूको सत्यानाशै गरेका थिए)।''[7]

जुद्धशमशेरले आफ्नो जीवनी र आफ्ना शिकारका बयानहरूलाई विशेष स्थान दिई स्मिथिज भन्ने अंग्रेजलाई किताब लेखाउन लगाई[8] ई. १९४२

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५. यसमा कुनै लेखकको नाम छापिएको छैन। पत्रिकाका व्यवस्थापकचाहिं रामकेवल शर्मा थिए भन्ने पत्रिकामै अन्यत्र छापिएको देखिन्छ।

६. नयराज पन्त, **पूर्णिमा** ४०, पृष्ठ १९४.

७. ऐजन, पृष्ठ १९३–९४.

8. "His Highness entrusted me with a task which I have found of absorbing interest, and which has given me months of pleasure." – E. A. Smythies, Preface P. Vii.

मा कलकत्ताबाट प्रकाशन गराएका थिए।[9] सो किताबमा उनका ८ वर्षका शिकारका बिबरणहरू लक्ष्मीप्रसाद देवकोटाबाट अनुवाद गराई शामिल गराएको कुरा पनि टिपिएको छ। ती अंग्रेज भारतको संयुक्त प्रान्तका भूतपूर्व फरेष्टर थिए। यो ग्रन्थमा जुद्धले गरेका महत्त्वपूर्ण कामहरूबारे पनि लेखिएको छ।

उक्त ग्रन्थमा चर्चित जुद्धले गरेका महत्त्वपूर्ण घटनाहरूमध्ये केहीको चर्चा यहाँ गरिन्छ।

१. सन् १९३५–३६ मा जुद्धशमशेरले जनकपुर गएको बेलामा त्यहाँको पाठशालाका विद्यार्थीहरूलाई लुगा बाँडेका थिए, महन्तलाई १२ हजार रुपियाँ बकस दिएका र ४० हजार रुपियाँ मन्दिरको जीर्णोद्धार गर्न दिएको र एउटा अंग्रेजी मिडिल स्कूलको उद्घाटन गरेका थिए।[10]

२. सन् १९३८ मा जुद्धशमशेर चितवनमा शिकार खेल्न बस्दा जापानका भाइस कन्सुल (Vice Consul) आई केही दिन बसेका थिए।[11] शिकारकै क्रममा ई.१९३६ मा भारतमा इटलीका कन्सुल जनरल डा. डोमेनिको (Domenico) जुद्धशमशेरका पाहुना हुन आएका थिए।[12]

चन्द्रशमशेरको समयमा प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध भएको र सो समयमा उनले अंग्रेजहरूलाई धेरै किसिमबाट सहयोग गरेका थिए भने जुद्धशमशेरको समयमा द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध चलेको हुँदा उनले पनि त्यही रीति कायम गरे। ई १९३९ देखि जुद्धले नेपाली सेनाका दुई डफ्फा (Brigades) आफ्ना जेठा छोरा बहादुरशमशेरको नेतृत्वमा पठाए। अंग्रेजहरूले आफूले भर्ना गर्ने गरेका नेपालीहरूको संख्या डबल पार्न सोही अनुसार भर्ती गर्न पाउन अनुरोध गरेकामा जुद्धले मान्दा अंग्रेज फौजमा साविक २० बटालियनमा २० थप भई ४० बटालियन गोर्खाली फौज भयो। त्यसपछि पनि १० देखि १४ हजारसम्म नेपालीहरूको भर्ती गर्नेबारे अंग्रेजहरूले सोधेकामा जुद्धले खुशीसाथ अनुमति दिएका थिए। उनले नेपाली जंगलका काठपात र पैसाले पनि सहयोग गरेका थिए।[13]

४. जुद्धशमशेरले आफू प्रधानमन्त्री भएपछि जंगबहादुर वा चन्द्रशमशेरले जस्तो बेलायतको यात्रातिर ध्यान दिएनन्। उनले चन्द्रशमशेरको साथ ई. १९०८ मै बेलायत आदि यूरोप देशको यात्रा गरिसकेका थिए। तर उनले बराबर दिल्ली वा कलकत्ताको यात्रा गरेका थिए। आफ्नो अनुवर्त्तीको रूपमा अंग्रेज शासक वर्गले जुद्धको यथोचित मान सम्मान गर्ने गर्दथे। ई. १९३९ मा कलकत्ता गएको बेलामा भाइसराय मार्किसाआफ लिनलिथगोले जुद्धलाई जी. सी. बी. को सैनिक तक्मा लगाइदिएका थिए।[14]

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9 E. A. Smythies- *Big Game Shooting in Nepal*, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd. 1942. p. 174. With map and colour illustrations.

१०. E. A. Smythies, ऐजन, पृष्ठ. १२८–२९

11. E. A. Smythies- *Big Game Shooting in Nepal*, p. 107.

१२. ऐजन, पृष्ठ. १२२.

13. E. A Smythies, *Big Game Shooting in Nepal* p. 34. All this shows how closely the Maharaja has associated himself, and the country he rules, with Great Britain..... बाक्यबाट पनि जुद्धको विदेशनीतिको शैली स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

14. E. A. Smythies, *Big Game Shooting in Nepal*, 1942. pp. 33 - 34 मा यसबारे यसरी लेखिएको छ:– The Maharaja has also made diplomatic visits to Delhi and Calcutta from time to time. These visits will remain ever memorable in the annals of Nepal, in so far as they gave striking proof of the high esteem and regard in which the Maharaja is held not only by his countrymen but also by the

५. जुद्ध शमशेरले नेपालको आर्थिक स्थितिमा केही परिवर्तनको प्रयत्न गरेका थिए भन्नेबारेमा पनि उक्त ग्रन्थमा केही विवरण परेको छ ।[15]

उक्त आर्थिक नीतिलाई बढाउन जुद्धशमशेरले 'विकास समिति' को पनि स्थापना गरे जसको तैनाथवाला आफ्नै छोरा बहादुरशमशेरलाई बनाएका थिए । त्यसै समिति अन्तर्गत कृषि र वनको उपसमिति केशरशमशेरको अध्यक्षतामा गठन गरिएको थियो । [16] घरेलु उद्योग विभागको स्थापना पनि त्यसै सन्दर्भमा गरिएको थियो ।[17]

६. सामाजिक सुधारतर्फ पनि जुद्धशमशेरले अनेक काम गरेका थिए भन्दै सोही ग्रन्थ (पृ. ३३) मा यस्तो टिप्पणी लेखिएको पाइन्छ:—

"On the social side, abuses have been abolished and steps of a far-reaching character introduced. Thus the Hindu custom of wild extravagance on marriages and wedding feasts has been completely stopped by fixing a prescribed maximum on these and the same applies to funerals."

७. जुद्धशमशेरले विदेश सम्बन्धबारेमा पनि ध्यान दिएर सो सम्बन्धको विस्तार गर्ने प्रयास गरेको बारेमा उक्त ग्रन्थमा यस्तो टिप्पणी लेखिएको छ (पृ. ३३):—

On the political side, the creation of

Government and the people of India. During His Highness's visit to New Delhi in January 1935, he stayed in the Nizam's Palace as the special guest of the Viceroy, and a magnificent military manoeuvre and parade, in which 15,000 troops took part, was held in his honour–a special mark of respect and recognition which no other Eastern Ruler or potontate appears to have ever received in India's capital. Again when the Maharaja visited Calcutta in December 1939, he received many more convincing proofs of India's cordiality and affection towards him expressed in many a meeting and civic reception held in his honour, and yet another signal mark of distinction, viz, the insignia of the Order of G. C. B. (Military), which was conferred upon him by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis of Linlithgow, at a special investiture ceremony. Indeed, the Maharaja's visits evoked great enthusiasm and interest in India.

15. ..... a big jute mill, a soap factory, a match factory, new hydro-electric power houses near Kathmandu and Morang, a new branch of the Nepal Government Railway at Jayanagar, and the creation of the Nepal Bank and its branches in Terai districts– E. A. Smythies, p .33.

16. 'To examine and plan further developments, the important Development Board was set up with Commanding General Bahadur as President, which is supplemented by the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, under Commanding General Kaiser'– E. A. Smythies, p. 33.

वनस्पति विभागको स्थापना पनि त्यसै बेला गरिएको बारेमा पनि त्यही ग्रन्थमा (पृ. १८) मा यसरी टिपिएको छ:—

Botanical Department, Nepal which was instituted by His Highness.

17. 'The Maharaja has taken a keen interest in the development of cottage industries, for which a special department has been started and special funds allolted.–ibid.

a Minister and appointment of a Minister, in London has been an important step, and diplomatic missions have been sent to Belgium, France, Italy and elsewhere.

८. जुद्धशमशेरले सैनिक स्कूल, सैनिक सञ्चय कोष, सैनिक पेन्सनको व्यवस्था पनि गरेका थिए। गोलीगठ्ठा बनाउने कारखानाको विस्तार पनि गरिएको थियो। नेपाली फौजको विस्तार पनि उनले गरेका थिए। गोरखपुरमा पेन्सन लिन जाने नेपाली भूतपूर्व सैनिकहरूलाई बिरामी परेमा भर्ना गर्ने एउटा अस्पताल बनाउन उनले पैसा दिएका थिए भनी सोही ग्रन्थमा बयान गरिएको छ।

माथि चर्चित कतिपय तथ्य जान्ने अन्य साधन पनि उपलब्ध छन् भने कति तथ्य यसै चर्चित ग्रन्थबाट मात्रै थाहा पाइन्छ। तर खास महत्त्वपूर्ण कुरा के छ भने जुद्धशमशेरले चन्द्रशमशेरले जस्तै आफ्नो बारेमा विदेशीबाट ग्रन्थ लेख्न लगाई प्रचार गराएका थिए।

जनकपुरको संस्कृत पाठशालाका एक अध्यापक पण्डित शिवशङ्कर झा शर्मा साहित्याचार्यले जुद्ध शमशेरको स्तुतिमा संस्कृत भाषामा ११ श्लोक रचेर काशीबाट प्रकाशित हुने सूर्योदय नामको संस्कृत पत्रिकाको सं. १९८९ माघ पूर्णिमाको अंक (अष्टम वर्षे अष्टम संख्या) मा प्रकाशित गराएका थिए जो यहाँ उद्धृत छः—

श्रीश्रीश्रीनेपालमहाराजाऽभिनन्दम्।

"स्वस्ति प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डखण्डखण्डिताऽरिमण्डल-यश-श्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाद्योतविद्योतिताऽखिलजगन्मण्डल-दानशौण्डाऽ-र्थिकल्पपादपप्रभुवरमहाराजश्रीश्रीश्री युद्धसम्शेर राणा-बहादुर महोदयानां करकमलेषु-

श्रीकण्ठाऽऽश्लिष्टबाहुर्जलधर-रुचिरा यामुने मञ्जुकुञ्जे
पुञ्जे गोपाङ्गनानामविरतरमणालास्यलीला प्रवीणा।
वीणावादप्रवीणैस्सुरमुनि नकरैश्श्लोकिता ब्रह्मरूपा
भूपाला लाकृतिस्ते वितरतु कुशलं स्रग्धरा कृष्णमूर्त्तिः
॥ १ ॥

दृष्ट्वा यं खड्गहस्तं विचलितहृदयाः सम्पराये पराये
भीता नैवाऽऽद्रियन्तेऽधरमधुसुचिरं स्वालयेऽपि
प्रियायाः।
सोऽयं धीमानधीती नयरतिविनयी पुण्यकर्म्मा सुशर्म्मा
जीयाच्छ्री क्ष्मा-मृगाङ्कः पशुपतिशरणो "युद्धसम्शेर-
राणाः" ॥ २ ॥

विप्राः सत्कर्म्मपक्षाः श्रुतिविदितपथा मोक्षलक्ष्मीसमक्षाः
रक्षादक्षा विपक्षाऽक्षपितबलमदाः क्षत्रियामानदीक्षाः।
भिक्षाभक्षास्समीक्षा-निवृतिपरतया साधवो लब्धलक्षाः
यस्मिन् क्षोणीश-सूर्य्ये विलसति भुवने नास्तिवादा
दिलक्षाः ॥ ३ ॥

लिङ्गान्यन्यानि हित्वा हिमगिरिसुतया यावनस्पर्श-
भीत्या
शर्व्वः कालं प्रतीक्षन्नमरपरिवृढो विष्णुकार्य्याऽ-
करत्वात्।
राज्ये यस्याऽधुना वै वसति पशुपतिः प्रीणयन्
सर्व्वलोकान्
धर्म्म स्तम्भायमानो जगति विजयते-भू-बिडौजाः स
राजा ॥ ४ ॥

कृत्ये यस्य प्रकृष्टेऽपरिमितधिषणो "मोहनो" जागरूकः
"व्यास" श्चाऽऽमोहकाले भवति कलनया "धर्म्म"
श्रद्धस्य बुद्धेः[19]
सध्यङ् "रुद्रो" रथस्थ≍ परदलदलने "पद्मकेना"
भिजुष्टः

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१८. जुद्धशमशेरको विस्तृत जीवनी भारतका प्रख्यात इतिहासकार ईश्वरीप्रसादले पनि प्रकाशित गरेका छन्। यसबारेमा पछि यथावसर चर्चा गरिने छ।

१९. टिप्पणी—अयमस्माकं प्रभुश्श्रीनेपालमहाराजो जिष्णुरर्जुनो वर्त्तते। तथाऽर्जुनस्य सर्व्वेषु विचारणीयकृत्येषु मोहनः श्रीकृष्णः सावधानोऽभवत्तथैव प्रभुमहाराजस्य सर्व्वविचारकार्य्येषु स्वर्गतमाननीयमहाराजचन्द्र-सम्शेररणामहानुभावस्य ज्येष्ठः पुत्रः सुगृहीतनामा श्रीमोहनसम्शेरो वर्त्तते। धर्म्मश्रद्धस्य—धर्म्मेयुधिष्ठिरे वद्धभक्तेरेकत्र धम्म सुकृते श्रद्धाभक्तिर्यस्य तथाऽर्जुनस्य यदा बुद्धिव्यामोहोऽभवत्तस्मि तदा व्यासः

"जिष्णु" र्देवः प्रतापी स भवतु न कथं ?
"हेमराजा" श्रयेण ॥५॥
श्रीमँस्त्वत्कीर्त्तिहंसी परगुणपयस ≍पानशीला विशाला
लब्धाऽऽवासाऽपि सूरेर्निपतति मुखतो मानसे नैवमान्ती ।
श्रुत्वैतत्कार्य्यजातञ्जनितदरतया दुग्धसिन्धुः पलाय्य
क्षाराऽऽकूपारपारं भजति ननु मया तर्क्यते हिदमेव ॥६॥
नोम्लानिं याति घत्ते न च विबुधगणै ≍पीयते नाप्यपायी
मेघैरन्तर्न धत्ते युतसकलकलो राहुणा ग्रस्यते नो ।
वक्त्रैस्सीमन्तिनीनामतुलितसुषम ≍ क्षीयतेनाऽपि कुह्वां
राजँस्त्वत्कीर्त्तिचन्द्रो बुधमुखकमलं हर्षयत्येव नित्यम् ॥७॥
चातुर्व्वेदशिफोऽपवर्गफलको ज्ञानप्रसूनोर्जितः
शास्त्रव्रातविशुद्धवर्णविटपी कर्म्मद्विपत्राऽऽकुलः ।
यस्मिञ्छासति भूमिपालतिलके नेपालराजेऽधुना
मत्तैर्नेतृमतङ्गजैरपि मनाक् स्पृष्टो न धर्मद्रुमः॥८॥
याऽऽसीद्रीर्व्वाणवाणि वृततिरलघुभिर्ब्रह्मसायुज्यसस्या
पूर्णा विज्ञानपुष्पैः परिमलबहुला पालिता जीवनैश्च ।
तामेनां ग्लानवर्णां विलुलितकुसुमां मांदृशां प्राणरूपां
म्लेच्छैरेतर्हि शीर्णामविदितशरणां पाहि पाहि प्रपन्नाम् ॥९॥
कथ्यं नैवाऽस्ति तथ्ये मम तव नृहरे ! पथ्यभूतेऽथकृत्ये
किञ्चोत्कण्ठा न कुण्ठा मुखरयति मुदा तद्ब्रुवे राजवर्य्य ।
त्रात्वैनामार्य्य जातिन्नृपतिकुलमणे मुग्धवात्या विधूर्णां
जीवं स्त्वं पुत्रपौत्रैः शिवभजनपरः सार्व्वभौमो भवेति ॥१०॥
प्रजास्ते सन्तु धर्म्मिष्ठाः शत्रवः पृष्ठदर्शकाः ।
भुवश्च सर्व्वस्याढ्या ब्राह्मणाः कर्म्मठाः सदा ॥११॥

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श्रीद्वैपायनोभगवान् भवति शिक्षार्थमितिशेषः तथैव महाराजस्य व्यामोहसमये कलनया विचारेण बुद्धेः व्यासः विकाशोभवति । अर्जुनरथोपरि जनकनन्दनदीवरलब्धनवनिधिकः पद्मनामकेननिधिनायुक्तः श्रीहनुमान् रुद्राणामेकादश आसीत् । तथैवाऽधुना महाराजस्य सहायकः (चीफ) पदासीन श्रीमन्महनीय-रुद्रसम्शेर राणामहाभागः, स्वर्गतमहाराज भीमसम्शेरराणा महानुभावस्यपुत्रः श्रीपद्मसम्शेरमहाशयेनसहित प्रभुवरमहाराजस्य शत्रुवधेसाहाय्यमाचरति । अर्जुनो यथा उत्तरकुरून्विजित्य हेन्नां-राजातपनीय सुवर्ण कोटचाश्रयेणाजिष्णुर्जातः तथैव मम प्रभुरपि गुरुणासभेन हेमराजगुरुणाविद्यावारिधिना जयति ।

भक्तपुर तलेजुको था पूजा: एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण

-पुरुषोत्तमलोचन श्रेष्ठ

मल्लकालीन समयदेखि अद्यावधि तलेजुबाट संचालित सम्पूर्ण पर्व पूजाहरू, नित्य एवं नैमित्तिक पूजाहरू, जन्मदेखि मृत्युसम्मका संस्कारहरू अर्थात् दैनिक जीवन पद्धति (खासगरी नेवार समुदायको) आदि तान्त्रिक विधि विधानकै आधारमा चल्दै आइरहेको देखिन्छ। मल्लकालीन समयमा काठमाडौं उपत्यका तान्त्रिक क्रियाकलापको केन्द्रविन्दुको रूपमा रहेको देखिन्छ। तत्कालीन समयमा मल्ल राजाहरू तान्त्रिक प्रभावमा परी देवीका उपासक बन्न पुगे। यद्यपि मल्लकालमा तन्त्रशक्तिको विशेष महत्त्व र प्रभाव रहे तापनि तान्त्रिक शक्तिको युग के हो ? निश्चित रूपमा यो युगको शुरूवात् कहिलेदेखि भयो ? यसको प्रभाव कहिलेसम्म रह्यो र रहँदै आएको छ ? मल्लकाल किन देवीका उपासक बन्ने पुगे ? आदि प्रश्नहरू अनुसन्धानकै विषय बनेको छ। लिच्छवीकालमा यसको कुनै विशेष महत्त्व एवं प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव रहेको उल्लेख देखिदैन। त्यसवेला वैदिक परम्पराको प्रधान्यता रहेको थियो भने मल्लकालमा तान्त्रिक परम्परा प्रमुख रहन गएको पाइन्छ। तत्कालीन समयमा मल्लकालमा आफ्नो इष्टदेवता तलेजुलाई खुशी पार्न अनेक तान्त्रिक पूजाहरू गरेको उल्लेख पाइन्छ। त्यसमध्ये 'था पूजा' पनि एकप्रमुख तान्त्रिक पूजा हो जुन मल्लराजाहरूको साथै केही शाह राजाहरूले पनि राखेर गएको उल्लेख तत्कालीन ताम्रपत्रबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ।[1]

था पूजा के हो र यो किन गरिन्छ ?

तान्त्रिक पद्धति अनुसार गरिने पूजा विधानहरूमध्ये था पूजा दीक्षाधारी व्यक्तिहरू (ब्राह्मण, जोशी र कर्माचार्य) मात्र बसेर गरिने लामो पूजा हो। अतः सर्वसाधारण जनतालाई यस पूजाको विषयमा थाहा नहुन सक्छ। साधारणतया था पूजा संकल्प पूजा अथवा "भाकल" पूजा हो। कुनै खुशीयालीमा, जन्मोत्सवमा, "फलाना कार्य सिद्ध होस्" अथवा सिद्ध भएको खण्डमा आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण अवसरहरूमा पूजा गरिन्छ। मल्लकालमा विशेष गरी यो पूजा तत्कालीन राजाहरूले मन्दिरहरू जीर्णोद्धार गरेको उपलक्ष्यमा, मन्दिर बनाएको खुशीयालीमा, घण्टाहरू झुण्ड्याएको उपलक्ष्यमा, युद्ध जितेको खुशीयालीमा, आर्थिक लाभ प्राप्त भएकोमा आदि अवसरहरूमा, राखिनुको साथै एक राज्यले अर्को राज्यसित राजनैतिक र धार्मिक सम्बन्धलाई अझ सुदृढ पार्ने अभिप्रायले राखिने कुरा पाटनका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले भक्तपुर तलेजुमा नेपाल संवत् ८१८ माघमास शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमाको दिनमा था पूजा गुठी राखेको पत्रबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ।[2] खुशीयालीको

१) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ "**शाहकालका अभिलेख**" नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसंन्धान केन्द्र, त्रि. वि, कीर्तिपुर, २०३७, पृ. २९८।

२) रामजी तिवारी र साथीहरू "**अभिलेख संग्रह**" सातौं भाग, संशोधन मण्डल. काठमाडौं २०१९, पृ. २९।

अवसरमा मात्र हैन, रोगव्याधी निको होस् भन्नाको लागि पनि यो पूजा राखिने कुरा परम निर्गुणानन्द स्वामी रणबहादुर शाहले कान्तवती रोगग्रस्त भएको समयमा काटमाडौंका साथै भक्तपुरको तलेजुमा था पूजा राख्नुबाट थाहा पाउन सकिन्छ ।[3]

था पूजा विभिन्न समय एवं परिस्थितिमा सामूहिक वा राष्ट्रिय हितलाई नै ध्यानमा राखेर गरिने कुरा संस्कृतका निम्न श्लोकबाट पनि प्रष्ट हुन्छ:—

"संग्रामे रोग पिडे अतिभय उदिते तोय वृष्टे नवृष्टे
नाना विघ्न प्रपाते दुरित भय हरे सर्व मुत्पात जाते
दीक्षा यागे (जागे) सुयागे रवि शशि ग्रहणे देव
स्थापे प्रस्थाने
सौंयं श्री पंचोपचारे अभिमित फलदा भुक्तिदा च"[4]

था पूजाको अर्थ

तान्त्रिक पद्धति अनुसार गरिने पूजाहरूको बाहिरी स्वरूप साधारण देखिने भए तापनि त्यसको भित्री स्वरूप बुझ्दा खास अर्थ अर्कै देखिन्छ । था पूजा हिन्दू दर्शनमा आधारित तान्त्रिक पूजा हो, जुन 'आत्म पूजा' सित मिल्दोजुल्दो देखिन्छ । परम्परागत चलन अनुसार, नेवार समुदायमा जुनसुकै पूजा गर्नु अघि आफूलाई टीका लगाएर सर्वप्रथम आत्मपूजा गर्ने चलन रहेको देखिन्छ । जसको अर्थ 'म' नै 'ब्रम्ह' हुँ अर्थात् 'म' भन्नु र 'संसार' भन्नु एउटै हो । 'म्ह पूजा' को स्वरूप पनि यही हो जसलाई मल्लकालमा 'सगौन' [5] मनिन्थ्यो । यसरी आत्मपूजा अन्तर्गत आत्माभित्रको देवतालाई बाहिर ल्याई स्थापना गरिन्छ । यसैले यसलाई 'स्थापन पूजा' भनेर उल्लेख गरेको पनि देखिन्छ ।[6] स्थापन पूजा भन्नाले चाहे मूर्ति, ढुंगा, कलश वा काठको टुँडाल आदि नै किन नहोस, एकै स्थानमा स्थापना गरी स्थायी रूपमा स्थीर गरी पूजा गरिराख्नुलाई भनिन्छ । नेवारी भाषामा स्थापन पूजालाई 'थातं तेगु पूजा' भनिन्छ अर्थात् देवीलाई स्थीर पारेर पूजा गरिराख्नु भन्ने लाग्छ, जुन विसर्जन पनि हुँदैन र अन्यत्र सरूवा पनि हुँदैन । अतः 'थातं तेगु' पूजालाई 'था पूजा' भन्न सकिन्छ । नेवारी भाषामा 'था तेगु' भन्नाले देवतामा कुनै नयाँ दुलही लैजानु परेमा, अथवा बच्चा जन्मेको बाह्रौं दिनमा लैजानु परेमा वा दीक्षा लिनु परेमा आदि उपलक्ष्यमा गरिने पूजालाई 'था तेगु पूजा' भनिन्छ ।

परम्परागत रूपले बोलीचालीको नेवारी भाषामा "था पूजा" भनिने यस पूजालाई संस्कृतमा "पँचोपचार" पूजा भनिन्छ । रणजीत मल्लको भक्तपुर क्वाछें टोल भगवती मन्दिरको शिलालेखमा "पन्चोपचाल" (पंचोपचार) उल्लेख भएको छ ।[7] था पूजासित यसको शाब्दिक अर्थको कुनै मतलब छैन तापनि यसलाई विभिन्न पूजाहरूमध्ये एक 'स्तरयुक्त' पूजाको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । अत : यसलाई था पूजामा मात्र होइन, अन्य पूजा विधानहरूमा पनि 'स्तरयुक्त' पार्नको निमित्त थाप्न सकिन्छ । यसैले यो पूजा सामान्य मानिसहरूले गर्न नसक्ने (आर्थिक कमीले गर्दा) स्थिति भएकोले तत्कालीन राजाहरूले मात्र गर्दै आएको देखिन्छ । यस अतिरिक्त, पूजा राख्दा स्तरयुक्त बनाउनको निमित्त "पन्चापचार दयकं" (पंचोपचार सहित) भनेर राखेको देखिन्छ ।[8] पन्चोपचार भन्नाले पृथ्वी, जल, तेज, वायु, आकाश

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३) काठमाडौंको तलेजुमा गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रमको मुमा अर्थात् कान्तवती कै नामबाट राखिएको थियो भने भक्तपुर तलेजुमा स्वयं रणबहादुर शाहले राखेको उल्लेख छ । धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १, पृ. २८५, २८९, २९८ ।

४) दीक्षित वर्गमा प्रचलित श्रुति ।

५) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य "**वर्ष कृति : एक अप्रकाशित ठ्यासफू**" सि. एन. ए. एस जर्नल, भौलम १४, नं. १, डिसेम्बर १९८६, पृ. ७७ ।

६) ऐजन, पृ. ८० ।

७) रामजी तिवारी र साथीहरू, पाद टिप्पणी नं. २, पृ. ३४ ।

८) हेमराज शाक्य र तुलसी राम वैद्य "**मेडियभल नेपाल**", तुलसीराम वैद्य, काठमाडौं, १९७०, पृ २२२ ।

अथवा चन्दन, धूप, दीप, नैवेद्य, फूल, अथवा काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोह, मद अथवा पंचबलि—रांगा, बोका, भेंडा, हाँस, कुखुरा अथवा पन्च फूल आदि जुनसुकै ५ वटा समूहको प्रतीक बुझाउँछ। तलेजुमा गरिने था पूजा भने प्रायः पन्चबलि सहित गरिन्छ।

था पूजाको छोटो "मत पूजा" मानिन्छ जुन रात्रिको समयमा गरिन्छ। यसको विस्तृत रूप जागं (यागं) पूजा हो, जसलाई बोलीचालीमा "जालं पूजा" पनि भनिन्छ। तर जागं पूजा यज्ञ (जज्ञ) सहित गरिन्छ जसलाई जज्ञ—जागं (यज्ञ—यागं) पूजा भनिन्छ र यो पूजा गर्न चार दिन लाग्छ।

था पूजा राख्ने दिन

था पूजा यसै दिनमा राख्नु पर्छ भन्ने खास नियम नभए तापनि राम्रो दिन रोजेर राख्ने परम्परा रहँदै आएको देखिन्छ। भक्तपुर तलेजुमा था पूजाहरू खास गरी पूर्णिमा, नाग पन्चमी, अष्टमी, चतुर्दशी, दशमी आदि धार्मिक दृष्टिले राम्रो मानिएका दिनहरूमा राखेको पाइन्छ। पाटनका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले माघ शुक्ल पूर्णिमाको दिनमा भक्तपुर तलेजुमा था पूजा राख्न लगाएका थिए। त्यस्तै गीर्वाणयुद्ध विक्रमको काठमाडौं तलेजुको ताम्रपत्रमा प्रतिवर्ष भाद्र कृष्ण अष्टमी, मार्ग कृष्ण अष्टमी र फाल्गुण कृष्ण चतुर्दशीका दिनमा (कान्तवतीको नामबाट राखेको) र भक्तपुर तलेजुको ताम्रपत्रमा (परम निर्गुणानन्द स्वामी रणबहादुर शाहले राखेको) वर्षै पिच्छे आषाढ कृष्ण दशमी पौष शुक्ल पूर्णिमा र फाल्गुण शुक्ल द्वितीयका दिनहरूमा था पूजा राखेको उल्लेख छ।[9] यसबाट था पूजा बेग्लाबेग्लै दिनहरूमा राख्न सकिन्छ जुन पूजा राख्ने व्यक्तिको इच्छामा निर्भर रहन्छ भनेर स्पष्ट हुन्छ। किनभने माथिको विवरणबाट काठमाडौंको तलेजुमा था पूजा राखेको दिन र भक्तपुरमा राखेको दिन फरक रहेको छ। तर जुन दिन था पूजाका लागि निश्चित गरेका हुन्छन्, ती दिनमा अनिवार्य रूपले (वर्षैपिच्छे) यो पूजा तलेजुमा गरिन्छ।

था पूजाको प्रारम्भ

प्रामाणिक रूपमा था पूजाको ऐतिहासिक शुरूवात वा प्रारम्भ कहिलेदेखि भयो भन्ने कुरा अनुसन्धानकै विषय रहेको छ। यस सम्बन्धी कुनै किंवदन्ती पनि चलेको देखिंदैन। था पूजाहरू भक्तपुर, काठमाडौं र पाटनका तलेजुहरूमा मात्र हुँन, अन्यत्र जहाँ तलेजु छ, त्यहाँ पनि संचालन भएको पाइन्छ। यसकारण के अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ भने जहिलेदेखि तलेजुको स्थापना भयो, त्यसपछि था पूजा पनि व्यवस्थित रूपमा संचालन हुँदै गयो। अतः यहाँ तलेजुको विषयमा केही उल्लेख गर्नु आवश्यक देखिन्छ।

तलेजु

आफ्नो इष्टदेवता तलेजुलाई मल्ल राजाहरूले ठूलो भक्ति देखाई "श्री ३ श्वेष्ट देवता" "श्री ३ तलेजुमाजु" 'श्री ३ भवान्ये' आदि विभिन्न नामहरूले मान्दै आएको ऐतिहासिक उल्लेखहरू पाइन्छ।[10] मल्लकालमा मात्र नभइकन लिच्छवीकालका शासकहरूले पनि इष्ट देवता मान्ने कुरा राजा मानदेवले 'मानेश्वरी' को प्रतिष्ठा गरेको उल्लेखबाट पनि पुष्टि हुन्छ।[11]

राजनीतिक रूपमा काठमाडौं उपत्यका तीन स्वतन्त्र राज्यहरूमा[12] विभाजित हुनु अघि एउटै राज्य

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९) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १, पृ २८९, २९८।

१०) तीर्थलाल नघः भनी 'श्री तलेजु भवानी' **प्राचीन नेपाल**, संख्या ८२, पुरातत्त्व विभाग, काठमाडौं, २०४१, पृ ९, १०।

११) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र कमल प्रकाश मल्ल '**दि गोपालराज वंशावली**' नेपाल रिसर्च सेन्टर, काठमाडौं, १९८५, पृ. २८—२९।

१२) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र साथीहरू '**इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाण प्रमेय**, पहिलो भाग जगदम्बा प्रकाशन, ललितपुर, २०१९, पृ. ७३।

थियो र यसका राजाधानी पनि भक्तपुर नै भएको हुनाले काठमाडौं उपत्यका तीनवटा तलेजुहरूमा सबभन्दा पुरानो तलेजु भक्तपुरको तलेजुलाई मानिन्छ। तर राजनीतिक विभाजन पछि कान्तिपुर र ललितपुरका राजाहरूले इष्टदेवता तलेजुलाई आ–आफ्ना राज्यमा प्रतिष्ठान गरे।[13] यसरी मल्ल राजाहरूको सांस्कृतिक मूल थलो भक्तपुर रहेको कुरा विशेष पर्वको दिन भक्तपुरका देवताहरू दुईमाजु, वंकुली, मानेश्वरी, तलेजु भैरव आदिलाई पूजा भाग पठाइनुबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ।[14]

मल्लकालमा तलेजु सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, धार्मिक आदि हरेक दृष्टिकोणले एक केन्द्रीय शक्तिकै रूपमा मान्दै आएका थिए। वर्तमान समयमा पनि यो सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रविन्दु रहेको कुरा वार्षिक पर्वपूजाहरू तलेजुबाट नै हुनुलाई लिन सकिन्छ। गाईजात्रा, लक्ष्मीपूजा, शिवरात्रि, विश्वयात्रा आदि पर्वपूजाहरू सर्वप्रथम तलेजुमा गरिन्छ। त्यसपछि पर्वको रूपमा साधारण जनताले मनाउँदै आइरहेका छन्।

भक्तपुर तलेजुको स्थापना कहिलेदेखि भयो प्रामाणिक रूपमा अझसम्म थाहा हुनसकेको छैन। भाषा वंशावली अनुसार, हरिसिंह देवले ने. सं. ४४४ मा तलेजु ल्याई राजधानी शहर भक्तपुर गरे[15] भन्ने उल्लेख प्रामाणिक रूपमा असत्य सिद्ध छ। किनभने उनी आउनु अघि नै नेपालको राजधानी भक्तपुर रहेको र अरिमल्लको शासन रहेको प्रामाणिक पुष्टिले गर्दा उनी त्यसबेला भक्तपुर नै आएका थिएनन् भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ।[16]

भक्तपुर तलेजु तीनवटा 'पुर' मिलेर बनेको मानिन्छ। संस्कृतमा तीनवटा 'पुर' को समष्टि रूप 'त्रिपुर' हो। यसैबाट भक्तपुर तलेजुको नामकरण 'त्रिपुरा' गरिएको मानिन्छ। संस्कृतमा भक्तपुरको लायकूलाई (तलुजु दरवार) 'त्रिपुरा' लायक् भनिन्छ। अर्थात् तीनवटा पुरले सुसज्जित दरबार भन्ने हुन्छ। स्थानीय जनताले बोलीचालीमा अझै पनि 'त्रिपुरा लायकू' पनि भन्ने गर्दछन्।

तलेजु–दोलखा, साँखु, फर्पिङ, टिष्टुङ, पालुङ, कीर्तिपुर, मध्यपुर, ठिमी, नाला, पनौती, वनेपा, चापागाउँ, नुवाकोट आदि इलाकाहरूमा पनि छन्। यस अतिरिक्त ह्लासाको 'भाखोर' भन्ने स्थान समेत तलेजु भवानीको एकतल्ले मन्दिर रहेको तथ्यबाट[17] यस कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ कि तत्कालीन समयमा मल्ल राजाहरूको जहाँ जहाँ आफ्नो प्रभाव वा अधिकार रहेको छ, तो तो स्थानहरूमा

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१३) क) गौतमवज्र बज्राचार्य 'अप्रकाशित ठ्यासफू' (ऐतिहासिक घटनावली) **'पूर्णिमा'** १२ पूर्णाङ्क, संशोधन मण्डल, २०२३, पृ. ३०।

ख) **'भाषा वंशावली'** भाग २, पुरातत्त्व विभाग, नेपाल राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय, काठमाडौं, २०२३, पृ ६२।

१४) धनवज्राचार्य, पाद टिप्पणी नं. ५, पृ. ७६।

१५) **'भाषा वंशावल'** पाद टिप्पणी नं. १३ 'ख', पृ. ३०।

१६) क) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र साथीहरू, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १२, पृ. २३२–२३३।

ख) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र कमलप्रकाश मल्ल, पाद टिप्पणी नं. ११, पृ ५४।

१७) ह्लासाको शहरीकरणले गर्दा वि. सं. २०३५ सालमा भाखोरमा रहेको तलेजुलाई नोर्वोलिङ भन्ने स्थानमा (नेपाली महावाणिज्य दूतावास बसेको ठाउँनिर) स्थानान्तरण गरिएको थियो। स्थानान्तरण गर्नको निमित्त २०३५ सालमा सरकारी स्तरमा गुठी संस्थानका कर्मचारी खड्गराज रावल (साक्षीको रूपमा), रत्नराज शर्मा (तान्त्रिक एवं वैदिक विधिपूर्वक तलेजुको स्थानान्तरण गर्ने) र धर्मानन्दन बज्राचार्य (बौद्ध सम्प्रदायको तान्त्रिक पूजा सम्पन्न गर्ने) गएका थिए। यस कुराको उल्लेख रत्नराज शर्मा र खड्गराज रावलले भन्नु भएको आधारमा यहाँ गरिएको हो। उक्त तलेजु कसले स्थापना गरेको भन्ने कुरा थाहा नभएको, तलेजु वरपरका स्थानहरूमा नेवारहरूको वस्ती भएको, तथा पर्व पूजाको रूपमा विजया दशमीको दिनमा एक पटक मात्र तरवार बाहिर ल्याई बलि दिने चलन भएको उल्लेख श्री रत्नराज शर्माले गर्नु भयो।

आफ्नो इष्टदेवता तलेजु पनि प्रतिष्ठा गरेको देखिन्छ। हुन सक्छ, ती स्थानहरूमा धार्मिक र राजनीतिक प्रभावको प्रतीकको रूपमा राखेका थिए।

तलेजुको था पूजा र बाहिर गरिने था पूजामा भिन्नता

"बाहिर गरिने" भन्नाले यो पूजा भैरवको मन्दिर भित्र, देवीहरूको मन्दिर भित्र, पीठहरूमा–ब्रम्हायणी, कुमारी, वाराही, महाकाली आदि स्थानहरूमा गरिन्छ। वास्तवमा तलेजु भित्र गरिने था पूजा र बाहिर गरिने था पूजा विधिमा खास भिन्नता देखिदैन। फरक कतिसम्म देखिन्छ भने तलेजु भित्र गरिने था पूजा राजसी ठाँटबाट गरिन्छ। तर बाहिर हुने था पूजाहरूमा त्यो ठाँट पाइन्न। साथै बौद्ध सम्प्रदायमा "दो पूजा" गरिन्छ जुन था पूजाको एउटा प्रक्रियासंग मिल्दोजुल्दो देखिन्छ। त्यो प्रक्रिया के हो भने तलेजुमा था पूजा राखे जस्तै बौद्ध विहारहरूमा पनि विभिन्न अवसरहरूमा पूजा राखी गुठी गरी दिएको देखिन्छ।

तलेजुमा गरिने था पूजामा ब्राह्मणले वैदिक विधि अनुसार पूजा गर्दछन्। कर्माचार्यले तान्त्रिक पद्धतिका कार्यहरू गर्छ र जोशीले साईत हेर्ने, ग्रन्थमा उल्लिखित कुराहरू पढ्ने र व्याख्या गर्ने गर्छ। तर बाहिर गरिने था पूजामा 'जोशी' अनिवार्य मानिदैन। यो पूजा ज्यादै लामो भएकोले पूजा सञ्चालनमा मुनंकर्मी, मढीकर्मी, राज-भण्डारी, नर्की, सुवाल, कसाही आदि विभिन्न वर्गबाट सहयोग लिइन्छ।

पूजा विधि दुई चरणमा गरिन्छ

क) बिहानको पूजा – प्रथम चरण

ख) रात्रि पूजा – दोस्रो चरण

था पूजा र दीक्षा मन्त्र

तान्त्रिक पद्धतिले गरिने पूजा विधानहरू र धार्मिक कर्मकाण्डहरूमा दीक्षाको ठूलो महत्त्व रहेको हुन्छ। दीक्षा लिएकाहरू मात्र बसेर गरिने गोप्य पूजा भएको हुनाले दीक्षा नभएकाहरूले हेरेको खण्डमा अन्धो हुने अथवा बहुला हुने धारणा पनि रहेको छ। तर दीक्षा नभएका व्यक्तिले था पूजा गर्दा उसलाई नदेखाए तापनि उसको नामबाट सङ्कल्प गरी पूजा गरिन्छ। यस प्रकार यस्ता पूजा विधानहरूमा दीक्षाधारी भएपछि मात्र अधिकार हुने हुनाले तत्कालीन समयमा मल्ल राजाहरूका साथै तान्त्रिक रहस्य र महत्त्व जान्नको निमित्त "दीक्षा ग्रहण नगरी अधिकार नहुने हुनाले" नै प्रतापसिंह शाहले पनि दीक्षा लिनलाई मन्त्र शास्त्र जान्ने ब्राह्मण ललितपुरका कीर्ति-राजानन्द उपाध्याय सुकुललाई गुरुपदवी दिई मन्त्र सुनेर नित्य पूजाहरू गरिएका थिए।[18] जगतप्रकाश मल्लले वि. सं. १७१६ मा दीक्षा ग्रहण गरेका थिए।[19] त्यस्तै ने. सं. ७९६ जेष्ठ कृष्ण अमावस्या सूर्यग्रहणको दिन जितामित्र मल्ल र उनका भइ उग्र मल्लले संयुक्त रूपमा दीक्षा ग्रहण गरे। यही दिनमा कान्तिपुरमा नृपेन्द्र मल्ल, पार्थिवेन्द्र मल्ल र महीपतेन्द्र मल्ल तीनै दाजुभाइहरूले दीक्षा ग्रहण गरेका थिए।[20] जगज्योतिर्मल्ल, नरेश मल्ल, भूपतीन्द्र मल्ल आदिले पनि सूर्य ग्रहणको समयमा दीक्षा ग्रहण गरेका थिए। यहाँनिर एउटा प्रश्न उठ्छ, मल्ल राजाहरूले दीक्षा ग्रहण गर्दा सूर्य ग्रहणकै समयलाई किन महत्त्व दिए? तान्त्रिक धारणा अनुसार, उक्त समयमा दीक्षा ग्रहण गर्नु अति उत्तम र फलदायी मानिन्छ। उक्त समय भगवानको संसर्गको समयको प्रतीकको रूपमा लिइन्छ। यसैले त्यसबेला भगवान् बढी खुशी हुने भए-कोले कुनै एक चीज चढाए तापनि सयौं गुना बढी चढाएको र सयौं गुना फलदायी हुने धारणा रहेको हुनाले नै मल्ल राजाहरूले सूर्यग्रहणको समयमा दीक्षा लिएको विदित हुन्छ।

था पूजा अटुट रूपमा संचालन गर्न अपनाइएका आधारहरू

था पूजालाई वर्षै पिच्छे अटुट रूपमा सञ्चालन गर्दै

१८) बालचन्द्र शर्मा 'नेपाल देशको इतिहास', **प्राचीन नेपाल**, संख्या २३, पुरातत्त्व विभाग, काठमाडौं, २०३०, पृ. ५।

१९) शङ्करमान राजवंशी 'भक्तपुरका मल्ल राजासंग सम्बन्ध राख्ने धर: पो (लगत) का केही ऐतिहासिक सारांश' **पूर्णिमा** ४, अङ्क ४, संशोधन मण्डल, काठमाडौं, २०३४, पृ. ३६५।

२०) गौतमवज्र बज्राचार्य, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १३ (क), पृ. २५–२६।

लैजानको निमित्त विभिन्न आधारहरू अपनाएको देखिन्छ। त्यसमध्ये पहिलो मुख्य आधार आर्थिक स्रोत रहेको छ। अतः अदुट रूपमा यो सञ्चालन हुँदै जाओस् भन्नाको लागि पूजा सामग्रीहरूको साथै प्रशस्त गुठी राखेको पाइन्छ। पाटनका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले भक्तपुर तलेजुमा राखेको थां पूजा 'अविच्छिन्न वर्ष प्रति' संचालनको निमित्त पूजा सामग्रीहरू सहित प्रशस्त जग्गा जमीन पनि राखेका थिए।[21] त्यस्तै रणबहादुर शाहले वर्षपिच्छे यसको संचालनार्थ पूजा सामग्रीहरू र ४०२ मुरी खेत चढाएका थिए।[22] राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहको वि. सं. १८८७ साल भाद्र वदि १४ रोज ३ को लालमोहरमा था पूजा संचालनको निमित्त ३ रोपनी खेत गुठी राखेका थिए।[23]

थां पूजा संचालनको निमित्त धार्मिक अनुशासनलाई पनि प्रमुख आधार बनाएको देखिन्छ। था पूजा कसैले टुटायो भने 'साठी हजार वर्षसम्म कीरा भई रहोस्', 'तलेजुको कुदृष्टि परोस्' र 'क्रमिक रूपमा वर्षपिच्छे संचालन गर्दै लगेमा तलेजुको सुदृष्टि परोस्'[24] भन्ने उल्लेख पाइन्छ। कठोर दण्ड सजायँलाई पनि यसको संचालनको प्रमुख आधार बनाएको देखिन्छ। था पूजालाई कसैले लोभ र पाप गरी टुटाएको खण्डमा 'जात भात अनुसार त्यसको अपराध हेरी ज्यान सजायँ समेत गर्ने र त्यसका जहान छोराछोरीहरूलाई समेत कमारा कमारी बनाइदिनू'[25] भन्ने उल्लेखबाट तत्कालीन समयमा था पूजा निक्कै महत्त्वपूर्ण रहेको एवं धार्मिक नियम कानूनको उल्लङ्घनबाट पनि कमारा कमारी बनाइने रहेछ भनेर पुष्टि हुन्छ।

था पूजाको वर्गीकरण

भक्तपुर तलेजुमा संचालित था पूजाहरू 'ठूलो' र 'सानो' गरी दुई प्रकारका छन्। प्रायः सबै जसो 'ठूलो' था पूजाहरू शाह राजाहरूमा र सानो था पूजाहरू (आषाढ वदि ८ रोज को 'बाठा' था पूजा र फाल्गुण वदि ३ रोजको 'सुमिथा' बाठा था पूजा बाहेक) मल्ल राजाहरूका देखिन्छन्। ठूलो था पूजाहरू कुनै 'च्याठा', कुनै 'नेठा' र कुनै 'वाठा' नामका छन्। नेवारी भाषामा 'च्याठा' र 'नेठा' भन्नाले क्रमशः 'आठवटा' र 'दुईवटा' भन्ने अर्थ लाग्छ। सम्भवतः यो पूजा लामो र गाह्रो भएको कारणले र लगातार था पूजाहरूको दिनहरू परेको हुनाले यसलाई छोटचाईं आठ दिनमा रहेका आठवटा था पूजा एकै दिनमा सम्पन्न गरिने भएकाले 'च्याठा' र दुइवटा था पूजा एकै दिनमा सम्पन्न गरिने भएकाले 'नेठा' भनिएको हुन सक्छ। स्वयम्भूस्थित हारती माई कहाँ पूजा राख्दा पनि 'छठा', 'नेठा', 'स्वठा', 'पेठा' भनेर संख्या अनुसार राख्ने चलन छ। तर यसो भन्दैमा त्यहाँ राखिने पूजाहरू था पूजा नभई 'छाः हायकेगु' (भाकल) पूजा हो। मल्ल राजाहरूले राखेका था पूजाहरूलाई किन 'सानो' र शाह राजाहरूले राखेका था पूजाहरूलाई किन 'ठूलो' भनियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट नभए तापनि सानो र ठूलो था पूजाहरूको पूजा विधिमा भने कुनै भिन्नता रहेको छैन। केवल 'ठूलो' था पूजाहरूमा खर्च र भोज बढी हुन्छ।

भक्तपुर तलेजुमा वर्षभरि संचालित था पूजाहरू

था पूजाहरूको कूल संख्या ३१ वटा रहे तापनि हाल संचालन हुँदै आइरहेको था पूजाहरूको निश्चित संख्या २९ वटा रहेको छ।[26] तो था पूजाहरू पनि विभिन्न नामका छन्, जुन यस प्रकार छन्–

वैशाख महीना

क) वैशाख शुदि ३ रोजमा (अच्छय तृतीया)- 'नेठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

ख) वैशाख शुदि ५ रोजमा - 'अजि स्वां था पूजा' (सानो)

'अजि स्वां' एक प्रकारको पहेंलो फूललाई भनिन्छ। यही फूल र फूल आकारको रोटी बनाई तलेजु

२१) रामजी तिवारी र साथीहरू, पाद टिप्पणी नं. २, पृ. २९–३०।

२२) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १, पृ. २९८।

२३) दीर्घ ४११ **श्री तलेजुका निठा था पूजा**, गुठी लगत भद्रकाली।

२४) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पाद टिप्पणी नं. १, पृ. २९९।

२५) ऐजन, पृ. २९८।

२६) नयनाथ पौडेल **'अभिलेख'** चौथो भाग, संशोधन मण्डल, काठमाडौं, २०१८, पृ. ११।

भवानीलाई चढाइन्छ । रोटी बनाउने काम 'मढीकर्मी' ले गर्छन् ।

जेष्ठ महीना

क) जेष्ठ शुदि १२ रोजमा -'नेठा था पूजा' (ठूला)

यो पूजा राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाहले राखेका थिए । तत्कालीन समयमा यो पूजा किन राखियो भन्ने थाहा हुन नसकेपनि यस पूजाको निमित्त वि.सं. १८८७ मा उनले ३ रोपनी खेत गुठी राखी लालमोहर गरिदिएका थिए ।

ख) जेष्ठ शुदि २ रोज- 'ठूलो घण्टा था पूजा' (सानो)

तलेजु मूलचोकको उत्तरी भागमा भूपतीन्द्र मल्ल-ले यही दिनमा ने. सं. ८२५ मा 'महाकस्त' गरी ठूलो घण्टा सहित खम्बा बनाएको उपलक्ष्यमा था पूजा राखेका थिए । साथै वर्षै पिच्छे यही दिनमा अर्थात् जेष्ठ मासे शुक्लपक्ष द्वितीयाका दिनमा था पूजा गर्दै लैजानको निमित घण्टा अडयाउन राखिएका खम्बामा कुँदिएको अभिलेखबाट पनि स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

ग) जेष्ठ शुदि १० रोजमा - 'दशहरा था पूजा' (सानो)

दशहराको दिनमा गराइराखेको हुनाले यसलाई 'दशहरा था पूजा' भनिएको हो ।

आषाढ महीना

क) आषाढ वदि ५ रोजमा- 'लु पोल था पूजा' (सानो)

नेवारी भाषामा सुनको छानालाई 'लु पोल' भनिन्छ । भूपतीन्द्र मल्लले ने. सं. ८२८ मा तलेजु मूलचोकको मुख्य मन्दिरमा सुनको छाना हाली जीर्णोद्धार गरेको [27] उपलक्ष्यमा राखेको हुनाले यसलाई 'लु पोल था पूजा' भनिन्छ ।

ख) आषाढ वदि ८ रोज- 'वाठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

यो था पूजा भलभल अष्टमीका दिनमा गरिन्छ । अर्को शब्दमा भलभल अष्टमीलाई 'भगीरथी' पनि भनिन्छ । तान्त्रिक आधारमा नवदुर्गाको शक्तिको स्रोत पनि तलेजुलाई नै लिइएको छ । नवदुर्गा नाचको अन्त्य पनि भगीरथीमा नै हुन्छ । राजा जगतप्रकाश मल्लले ने.सं. ७९२ भलभल अष्टमीको शुभ दिनमा आफ्नो शालिक तुलजा भवानी कहाँ प्रतिष्ठा गरेको उपलक्ष्यमा यो पूजा राखेका थिए । [28]

ग) आषाढ वदि १० रोज- 'च्याठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

भक्तपुर तलेजु चोकमा राखिएको ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेख भए अनुसार, यो था पूजा परम निर्गुणानन्द स्वामी रणबहादुर शाहले वि.सं. १८५६ मा राखेका थिए । यस बाहेक फाल्गुण शुक्ल द्वितीया र पौष शुक्ल पूर्णिमामा पनि था पूजा राखेका थिए । रणबहादुर शाहले महारानी कान्तवती बिरामी हुँदा वैद्यहरूको इलाजबाट फाइदा नभएपछि [29] महारानीलाई रोगले च्याप्दै गएको हुनाले देवदेवीको पूजा अनुष्ठाद्वारा निको पार्न विभिन्न स्थानहरूमा पूजा गराउनुको साथै भक्तपुर तलेजुमा पनि यो पूजा राखेका थिए । तर कान्तवतीको रोग पूजाविधिबाट पनि निको भएन र कार्तिक शुदि ४, १८५६ मा तिनको मृत्यु भयो ।[30] यसले गर्दा रणबहादुर

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२७) भोलानाथ पौडेल, भूपतीन्द्र मल्लका कृतिहरू, **पूर्णिमा** १० पूर्णाङ्क, संशोधन मण्डल, काठमाडौं, २०२३, पृ. २७ ।

२८) लिलामक्त मुनकर्मी '**मल्लकालीन नेपाल**' रत्न पुस्तक भण्डार, काठमाडौं, २०२५, पृ. ४२ ।

२९) बाबुराम आचार्य "**नेपालको संक्षिप्त वृतान्त**, काठमाडौं, २०२२, पृ. १०७ ।

३०) चीतरन्जन नेपाली **श्री रणबहादुर शाह**, श्रीमती मेरी राजभण्डारी, काठमाडौं, २०२०, पृ. १३८ ।

शाहको देवीदेवताप्रतिको आस्था एवं विश्वास क्रोधमा परिणत हुन गयो। अत : देवीदेवताका मूर्तिहरू नष्ट पारे। भनिन्छ, 'श्री हारती माई ध्वस्त पारिइन्, श्री तलेजु ध्वस्त पारिइन्, कर्णवीर मसान बिगारियो'।[31]

घ) आषाढ शुदि २ रोजमा – 'न्यातापोल था पूजा' (सानो)

ने.सं ८२२ आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदाका दिन न्यातपोल मन्दिर बनाएको उपलक्ष्यमा [32] भूपतीन्द्र मल्ले यो पूजा राखेका थिए।

ङ) आषाढ शुदि ४ रोजमा – 'चम्पारोहण था पूजा' यसलाई 'चम्पा स्वां था पूजा' पनि भनिन्छ।

श्रावण महीना

श्रावण महीनाको साथै कार्तिक महीनामा पनि था पूजा खाली रहेको छ। यसरी खाली रहनुमा विशेष कारण नदेखिए तापनि पूजा विधि लामो र धेरै वर्गबाट काम लिनु पर्ने हुनाले र यी दुई महीनामा प्राय: सबै जसो खेतीपातीको कार्यमा व्यस्त हुने तथा था पूजाको शुभ साइतहरू पनि नभएको कारणले गर्दा सम्भवत: ती समयहरूमा था पूजा नराखेको हुन सक्छ।

भाद्र महीना

क) भाद्र शुदि ४ रोजमा– 'लाठो था पूजा' (सानो)

ख) भाद्र शुदि ८ रोजमा– 'च्याठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

आश्विन महीना

क) आश्विन वदि ८ रोजमा–'महालक्ष्मी था पूजा' (सानो)

ख) आश्विन वदि १९ रोजमा– 'रजाई था पूजा' (सानो)

शत्रुमाथि रजाई गरेको अथवा युद्ध जितेको खुशीयालीमा यो था पूजा राखेको पुष्टि शब्दबाटै हुन्छ, तर कुन युद्ध जितेका वा कुन राजाले राखेको भन्ने कुरा खोजपूर्ण नै रहेको छ। तत्कालीन समयमा युद्ध जितेपछि मात्र हैन, युद्धमा विजयी होस् भन्नाका लागि पनि धार्मिक पूजा गरेको पाइन्छ। इ. सं. १८१४ मा अंग्रेजसित युद्ध हुँदा युद्धमा विजयी होस् भनेर नुवाकोटको देवी भैरवीलाई सुनको छाना चढाएको तात्कालीन प्रमाणबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ।

कार्तिक महीना:– खाली

मार्ग महीना

क) मार्ग वदि २ रोजमा 'नौफने था पूजा' (सानो)

नौफने भन्नाले तलेजुमा दशैंपछि बलि चढाउने कार्य फुक्का गर्ने अवसरमा गरिने था पूजालाई भनिन्छ। यो था पूजा पछि अन्य पर्वपूजाहरू नियमित रूपमा तलेजुमा शुरू हुन्छ।

ख) मार्ग शुदि २ रोजमा ' लोहं देग था पूजा' (सानो)

ढुंगाले बनाएको मन्दिरलाई नेवारी भाषामा "लोहं देग" भनिन्छ। यही लोहं देग राजा जगतप्रकाश मल्लले ने. सं. ७९२ मार्ग शुदिमा बनाएको उपलक्ष्यमा[34] राखेको हुनाले यसलाई "लोहं देग" था पूजा भनिन्छ। उनले यस मन्दिरभित्र महादेवको विभिन्न रूप मध्ये नृत्य रूपको प्रतीकको रूपमा "नृत्यनाथ" को

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३१) "मच्छिन्द्र वहालको शान्ति सफूबाट उद्धृत, त्रिरत्न सौन्दर्य गाथामा प्रकाशित, धनवज्र बज्राचार्य **त्रिरत्न सौन्दर्य था गाथा**, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद, काठमाडौं, २०१९, पृ. १९०।

३२) भोलानाथ पौडेल, पाद टिप्पणी नं. २७, पृ. २८।

३३) धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ **नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा**, नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, त्रि. वि., कीर्तिपुर, २०३२, पृ. १५।

३४) लीलाभक्त मुनकर्मी, पाद टिप्पणी नं. २८, पृ. ३९।

मूर्ति सहित "वच्छला देवी" को मूर्ति पनि स्थापना गरेका थिए ।

पौष महीना

क) पौष वदि ७ रोजमा– 'च्याठा था पूजा' (सानो)

यो पूजा चलेको छैन ।

ख) पौष वदि ९ रोजमा 'कुथुवहाल था पूजा' (सानो)

कुथुवहाल भक्तपुरको डोक्छें टोलमा पर्छ । रणजीत मल्लका ल्याइतें पत्नी तर्फका ७ राजकुमारहरू सातवटा विभिन्न वहालहरूमा बस्ने भएकाले तिनीहरू 'वहाले' नामले चर्चित थिए ।[35] त्यसमध्ये कुथुवहालमा बस्नेले राखेर गएको हुनाले यसलाई कुथुवहाल था पूजा भनिन्छ ।

ग) पौष शुदि ५ रोजमा– 'लुंदव था पूजा' (सानो)

नेवारी भाषामा "लुंदव" भन्नाले "सुन प्राप्त भएको" भन्ने अर्थ लाग्छ । रणजीत मल्लको समयमा तिब्बतमा बढी मुद्राहरू प्रचलित थियो भन्ने कुरा "सबै भन्दा बढी ढाँचाका चाँदीका टक यिनको झण्डै आधा शताब्दी लामो राज्यकालमा चल्नुबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।"[36] अतः ती मुद्राहरू तिब्बतमा पठाई त्यसको बदलामा, नाफाको रूपमा सुन ल्याई प्रशस्त फाइदा भएको उपलक्ष्यमा राखेको हुनाले यो पूजाको नाम "लुंदव था पूजा" रहन गयो ।

घ) पौष शुदि ८ रोजमा– 'च्याठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

ङ) पौष शुदि १५ रोजमा– 'ठूलो था पूजा' (ठूलो)

यो था पूजा रणबहादुर शाहले कान्तवतीको रोग निको होस् भन्नाका लागि राखेका थिए ।

माघ महीना

क) माघ शुदि ५ रोजमा– 'श्रीपन्चमी था पूजा' (सानो)

श्रीपन्चमीको दिन राखेको यो था पूजा चलेको छैन ।

ख) माघ शुदि ७ रोजमा– "ग्वंग था पूजा' (ठूलो)

वि. सं. १८८३ साल श्रावण वदि ४ मा यस था पूजाको निमित्त लालमोहर गरिएको थियो ।[37] अतः यतिबेला राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह राजगद्दीमा बसेको १० वर्ष (नाबालक) भइसकेको पुष्टि हुन्छ । किनकि ८ डिसेम्बर १८१६ मा उनी नेपालको राजसिंहासनमा राखिएका थिए र त्यसवखत नायवी ललितत्रिपुर सुन्दरी देवी र अख्तियारी भीमसेन थापा थिए ।[38] अतः यो पूजा ललितत्रिपुर सुन्दरी देवीले राख्न लगाएकी थिइन् र यो पूजा ग्वंग धरका भारदारहरूद्वारा संचालित भएकोले यसको नाम ग्वंग था पूजा रहन गयो । यसबाट तत्कालीन समयमा दरबारमा ती ग्वंग भारदारहरूको विशेष प्रभाव रहेको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

फाल्गुण महीना

क) फाल्गुण वदि ३ रोजमा– 'सुमिथा वाठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

ख) फाल्गुण वदि ५ रोजमा– 'वैद्य था पूजा' (सानो)

नामबाटै यो पूजा तत्कालीन राजदरबारिया वैद्यहरूले राखेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । ग्वंग भारदारहरूको

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३५) ऐजन, पृ. ६५ ।

३६) पूर्णदास मानन्धर "रणजीत मल्लको सिकुचा मोहर" **प्राचीन नेपाल**, संख्या ९१, पुरातत्त्व विभाग, २०४२, पृ. १ ।

३७) दीर्घ ३१० **तलेजुका माघ शुदि ७ रोजमा था पूजा गुठी**, गुठी लगत, भद्रकाली ।

३८) बालचन्द्र शर्मा, **नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा**, कृष्णकुमारी देवी, वाराणसी, २०३७, पृ. २७८ ।

झैं यिनीहरूको पनि दरबारमा विशेष प्रभाव रहेको देखिन्छ ।

ग) फाल्गुण वदि १४ रोजमा - 'च्याठा था पूजा' (ठूलो)

घ) फाल्गुण- शुदि २ रोजमा- 'च्याठा था पूजा' यो पूजा रणबहादुर शाहले राखेका थिए ।

ङ) फाल्गुण शुदि ९ रोजमा- 'बुव जिला पूजा' (सानो)

फूल फुल्ने अवस्थामा जुन कोपिला निस्कन्छ, त्यसलाई नेवारीमा "बुवोगु" भनिन्छ । अतः रोटीको डल्ला फूल आकारको बनाएर यस दिनमा था पूजा गरिन्छ ।

चैत्र महीना

क) चैत्र शुदि ८ रोजमा- 'च्याठा था पूजा' (सानो)

ख) चैत्र शुदि १४ रोजमा- 'गंचा था पूजा' (सानो)

मन्दिरका छानाहरूमा झुण्ड्याएका स-साना घण्टहरूलाई नेवारी भाषामा 'गंचा' भनिन्छ । जुन हावा लाग्दा बज्ने गर्छ । यस्ता घण्ट तलेजु मूलचोक मन्दिरका छानाहरूमा झुण्ड्याइएको उपलक्ष्यमा राखिएकाले यसलाई 'गंचा था पूजा' भनिन्छ ।

माथि उल्लेखित था पूजाहरूमध्ये केही था पूजाहरू कुन राजाले कुन अवसरमा राखे भन्ने कुराको उल्लेख निश्चित रूपमा गर्न नसकिए तापनि राजाहरूले निश्चित गरेर गएका दिनहरूमा वर्तमान समयमा गुठी संस्थान मार्फत वर्षैपिच्छे सञ्चालन हुँदै आउनुबाट यसको प्रामाणिकता पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

था पूजाको राजनैतिक महत्त्व

था पूजाको धार्मिक महत्त्व त छँदैछ, यस पूजाको अध्ययनबाट तत्कालीन समयका आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिस्थिति र महत्त्व मात्र हैन, राजनैतिक परिस्थिति र महत्त्व बुझ्न पनि सहयोग पुऱ्याउँछ भन्ने कुरा ललितपुरका राजा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले भक्तपुर तले-जुमा सम्वत् ८१८ माघ मास शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमाको दिनमा था पूजा गुठी राखी सुवर्णपत्र गरिदिएको घटनाबाट पुष्टि हुन्छ । यसरी था पूजा राख्नुबाट तत्कालीन समयमा भक्तपुर र ललितपुर बीच राजनैतिक सम्बन्ध राम्रो थियो भन्ने कुराको ऐतिहासिक पुष्टि हुन्छ । उपत्यकाका तीन-वटै राज्यहरू बीच सानोतिनो स्वार्थका लागि पनि तत्काल सन्धि भङ्ग गर्ने र परस्परमा झगडा गर्दा धार्मिक कार्यमा पनि बिघ्न बाधा पारी बिगार्ने चेष्टा गर्दथे[३९] अतः था पूजा राखेको घटनाबाट दुई राज्य बीचको राजनैतिक सम्बन्धलाई योगनरेन्द्र मल्ल अझ सुदृढ पार्न चाहन्थे भन्ने कुरा पनि देखिन्छ ।

हाल भक्तपुर तलेजुमा योगनरेन्द्र मल्लले राखेको था पूजा चलेको छैन । यो कहिलेदेखि टुटयो, त्यसको प्रामाणिक जानकारी नभए तापनि उनको मृत्युपछि भक्तपुरमा पहिलेको जस्तो प्रभाव नभएबाट यो पजा नचलेको हुन सक्छ ।

था पूजा र शाह राजाहरू

शाह राजाहरूले पनि था पूजा राखेको घटनालाई ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिले महत्त्वपूर्ण मान्न सकिन्छ । यसबाट एउटा महत्त्वपूर्ण कुरा के झल्किन्छ भने श्री ५ बडामहा-राजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले मल्लकालको अन्त्य पछि उपत्यकाका जनतालाई नेतृत्व विहीन हुन नदिई सांस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक परम्परा र चलनलाई यथावत कायम नै राखे । जसरी श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वी नारायण शाहका आर्थिक, राजनैतिक, परराष्ट्र आदि विभिन्न नीतिलाई उनी पछिका राजाहरूले अनुशरण गर्दै गए, त्यस्तै धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक संरक्षणको नीतिको

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३९) रामजी तिवारी र साथीहरू **ऐतिहासिक पत्र संग्रह**, दोस्रो भाग, नेपाल सांस्कृतिक परिषद, काठमाडौं, २०२१, पृ. १९ ।

पनि अनुशरण गर्दै लगे भन्ने कुरा था पूजा राख्नुबाट पनि प्रमाणित हुन्छ ।

भक्तपुर तलेजुमा राखेका था पूजाहरूमा रणबहादुर शाह, कान्तवती, राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह, ललितत्रिपुर सुन्दरी बाहेक अरू शाह राजाहरूको नाम उल्लेख भएको पाईंदैन । प्रतापसिंह शाह तन्त्रशास्त्रमा अभिरुचि राख्ने भए तापनि उनले था पूजा राखेको उल्लेख नभेटिनुका साथै राजेन्द्रविक्रम शाह पछिका राजाहरूले यो पूजा राखेको देखिंदैन ।

उपसंहार

धर्ममा इतिहासको स्वरूप पनि रहेको हुन्छ । तत्कालीन मयमा राजनैतिक क्रियाकलापको आधार पनि धर्म नै रहेको देखिन्छ । लिच्छवीकालमा पनि इष्टदेवताको रूपमा 'राजदेवी' 'मानेश्वरी' भन्ने भएकोले लिच्छविकालमा पनि था पूजा राखेका थिए कि ? भनेर शङ्का गर्ने ठाउँ नभएको होइन । तर त्यसबखत यसको उल्लेख कतै पनि नपाइएकोले र मल्लकालमा मात्र था पूजाको प्रामाणिक उल्लेख हुन आएकोले यसलाई मल्लकालीन समयको महत्त्वपूर्ण धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं ऐतिहासिक उपलब्धिको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ ।

काठमाडौं मखनटोलस्थित गरुडको पादपीठ अभिलेख

–श्यामसुन्दर राजवंशी

काठमाडौं हनुमान्ढोका दरबार इलाकाको मखन टोलमा नारायण मन्दिरको सन्मुख एक प्रस्तरको गरुड मूर्ति अवस्थित छ। केही महीना अघिसम्म त्यस गरुडमूर्तिको आधा भाग जति जमीनमा गाडिएर रहेको थियो। हाल त्यस गरुडको मूर्तिलाई जमीनको माथि उठाइएको छ। त्यस मूर्तिको उचाइ करीब ५ फीट छ। गरुडमूर्तिले दाहिने घुँडोले टेकेर अंजुली बाँधी बसेको मुद्रामा छ। मूर्तिको खप्परको केही भाग फुटिसकेको छ। मूर्तिको मुखाकृति बाटुलो, जुंगा भएको, केश कल्कलाउँदो आकृति र कानमा कुण्डल, गलामा सर्पको माला बेरेको छ।

मूर्तिको स्वरूप र कलाकृतिलाई हेर्दा चाँगु-नारायण मन्दिर नजिकैको गरुडको मूर्ति जस्तै देखिन्छ। यद्यपि प्रतापादित्य पालको 'द आर्टस् अफ नेपाल' भन्ने पुस्तकमा त्यस मूर्तिको फोटो समेत दिइएको छ र यसलाई छैटौं शताब्दीको मूर्ति भनी लेखिएको पाइन्छ। (Pal- The Arts of Nepal Sculpture I, Photo plate No 99/100) यस्तै प्रकारले अन्य पुरातत्त्वविद्हरूले पनि छैटौं शताब्दीको मूर्ति भनेरै मान्दै आएको पाइन्छ।

प्रस्तुत मूर्तिको आधा भाग मात्र देखिने गरी गाडिएर रहेको त्यस मूर्तिलाई अब पूरा देखिने गरी जमीन माथि उठाएर राखी दिंदा मूर्तिको पादपीठमा अभिलेख उत्कीर्ण रहेको पाइयो। मूर्तिको पादपीठ अभिलेखमा मिति 'ने.सं. ७०३ आषाढ शुक्ल पक्ष तृतीया' उत्कीर्ण रहेको हुनाले त्यो मूर्ति छैटौं शताब्दीको नभएर सत्रौं शताब्दीको हो भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणित हुन आएको छ।

मूर्तिको पादपीठको दायाँ, अगाडि र बायाँ तीन साइडमा अभिलेख कोरिएको पाइन्छ। पादपीठ अभिलेख दायाँपट्टिको नाप २०×८ इन्चमा ६ पंक्ति अभिलेख, त्यस्तै अगाडिपट्टिको नाप ३५×८ इन्चमा ७ पंक्ति अभिलेख र बायाँपट्टिको नाप २०×८ इन्चमा ५ पंक्ति अभिलेख प्रचलित नेवारी लिपिमा अभिलेख उत्कीर्ण गरिएका छन्। अभिलेखमा राजा शिवसिंहदेव र राजा रणजीत सिंह देवको संयुक्त शासन भएको समयमा खप्व (भक्तपुर) मंगला छे टोलका न्हुरछे राजवंशका बाबु भन्ने व्यक्ति र उनका जहान हेलामयि, माहेलमयि, ग्वपिनिमयि, मालतिमयि, मधुलिकामयिले नारायण मन्दिर स्थापना गरी ब्राम्हण-द्वारा नित्यपूजा चलाउन जग्गा गुठी समेत राखी दिएको कुरा उल्लेख छ। अभिलेखको केही भाग खण्डित छ। अभिलेखको मूलपाठः–

दायाँ

१. ॐ नमो नारायणाय ।। .....
२. वाहन समेति करोतु कल्याण .....
३. श्री राजाधिराज श्री श्री जय शिवसि...श्रीश्री
४. जय रणजित सिंहदेव प्रभुठाकुरस विजय राज्ये ज्वजमान

५. श्री खप्व मंगला छे तोल न्हुरछे राजवंस उद्भव वावुसन श्री

६. श्री श्री मत यव भराडस तरूवावन आदि न यात व ..... जुरो

अगाडि

१. दवुरोव ४चागामक्व के फ ४० वुरोव ५ काहाला के फ ५..... ल्यतेवे वुरो ४ ..... वु.

२. रोव ६ के फँ ६० गडवुरोव २ के फ १० गाम कवल कर्ष २ जुरो व्रखं प्रते थ्वते के प्यंदन जेवलहिक व्राम्हण तु विय

३. के फँ ९९× व्राम्हणजुन निस्त्रपे नित्य पूजा चेत सिधके ग्वड नित्यमत थ्वते व्राम्हणजुन निस्त्रपे माल जुरो । वसुवा धु

४. ल यातके फ ३१× थ्वते जाकेन दानपत्रस चोङ थ्व निस्त्रपे मालजुरो ॥ पुतछा यात के व ३७ थ्वते जाकेन दान

५. पत्रस चोङ थ्यं निस्त्रपे माल जुरो ॥ ॥ एन्द्रजात्रा यात के फँ ४ थ्वते जाकेन दानपत्रस चोग्वथ्य निस्त्रपे मा

६. ल जुरो ॥ ॥ कार्त्तिक यात जाके फ १५ थ्वते जाकेनशिव थाय वो अरागमतंव जुरो ॥ ॥ साछोन के

७. यात जाकेन १५× थ्वते जाकेन दानपत्रस चोग्व थ्यं निस्त्रपे माल जुरो ॥ ॥ भुय ज्वजमान हेलामयि सन माहे

बायाँ

१. ल मयिसन ग्वपिनि मयिसन मालतिमयिसन मधुलिकामयि

२. सन दूता गामक्वनल क्रष ४ जुरो व्रखं प्रते थ्वते वलयावलसान

३. न दवथ्य श्री एन्द्रजात्रानदेवल न्हवने वोय निसलाव जो पि ४ दो

४. यंक दानपत्रस चोग्व थ्यं निस्त्रपे माल जुरो ॥ ॥ सम्वत् ७०३ आ

५. षाढ मासे शुक्लः पक्षे ॥ तृतीयान्तिथौ ॥ ॥ शुभ ॥ .

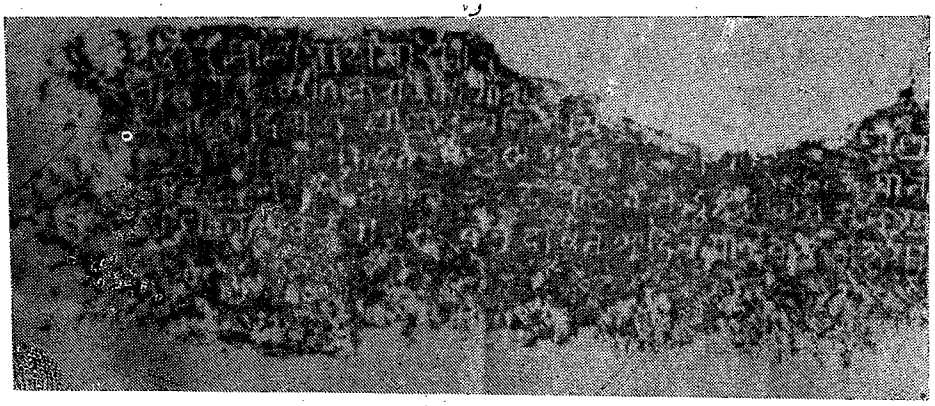
भावार्थः– (बायाँ) ॐ नारायणलाई नमस्कार ..... वाहन समेत कल्याण गरून् ..... श्री राजाधिराज श्री श्री जय शिवसिंहदेव श्री श्री जय रणजित सिंहदेव प्रभुथाकुरको विजय राज्यमा श्री खप्व मंगलाछे (भक्तपुर मंगलाछे) टोलका न्हुरछे राजवंशमा उत्पन्न भएका जजमान बाबुले श्री श्री मत यव भराड तरूवावन आदि (श्रीमत नारायण र वाहन) आदिलाई ..... खेत राखियो ।

(अगाडि) दवुरोपनि ४ चागामक्वबाट पाथि ४० खेत रोपनि ५ का हालबाट पाथि ५... ल्यते खेत रोपनि ४..... खेत रोपनि ६ वाट पाथि ६० गडखेत रोपनि २वाट पाथि १० गामकवल खेत कर्ष २ राखियो । प्रतिवर्ष यसबाट श्राद्ध तथा व्राम्हण भोजन गराउन ९९½ पाथिले चलाउने नित्यपूजा र नित्य आरती व्राम्हणबाट गराउने गरियो । बृस्पतिबारको दिन धुलं पूजा गराउन ३१½ पाथिले दानपत्रमा लेखिए बमोजिम चलाउने । पुतछा पूजा गराउन ३७ पाथिले दानपत्रमा लेखिए बमोजिम चलाउने । इन्द्रजात्राको दिन ४ पाथि चामलले दानपत्रमा लेखिए बमोजिम चलाउने । कार्तिकको लागि १५ पाथि चामलले शिवजी थानमा आकाशवत्ती बाल्ने । गाईलाई गहुँ खवाउनका निमित्त १५½ पाथिले दानपत्रमा लेखिएबमोजिम चलाउने फेरि जजमान हेलामयि

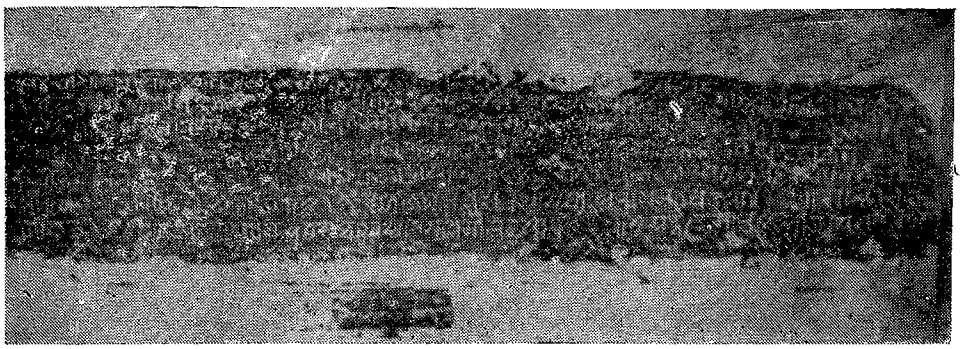
(बायाँ) माहेलमयि ग्वपिनिमयि मालतिमयि मधुलिकामयि यिनीहरूले गामक्वनल खेत कर्ष ४ राखियो । यसले प्रत्येक वर्ष यसको आयस्ताले भ्याएसम्म इन्द्रजात्राको दिन देवल अगाडि ४ भाग सिधा राखी दानपत्रमा लेखिए बमोजिम चलाउने । नेपाल संवत् ७०३ (वि.सं १६४०) आषाढ शुक्लपक्ष तृतीया तिथि शुभ ॥

टिप्पणी:– कान्तिपुरका राजा महेन्द्र मल्लको शेषपछि ज्येष्ठपुत्रको नाताले सदाशिव मल्ल राजा भए । राजा सदाशिव मल्ल साह्रै अत्याचारी भएको कारणले प्रजाहरू यिनीदेखि रूष्ट थिए । फलस्वरूप यिनको ठकुर्नी तर्फका भाइ शिवसिंह मल्लको बुद्धिमान, नीतिकुशल र धर्मपरायण व्यक्तित्व हुनाले प्रजाहरू शिवसिंह मल्लको समर्थनमा थिए । त्यसैले राजा शिवसिंहले प्रजाहरूको नेतृत्व गरी ने.सं. ६९८ (वि.सं. १६३५) देखि कान्तिपुरको राजा भई शासन संचालन गर्न थाले ।

मखन टोलस्थित गरुडको मूर्ति



मखन टोलस्थित गरुडको पादपीठको अभिलेख (दायाँ)



मखन टोलस्थित गरुडको पादपीठको अभिलेख (अगाडि)

मखन टोलस्थित गरुडको पादपीठको अभिलेख (बायाँ)

किनभने राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको अभिलेख ने.सं. ६९८ जेष्ठ शुक्ल पूर्णिमा (वि.सं. १६३५) देखि प्राप्त हुन थालेको पाइन्छ। (Regmi-Medieval Nepal, Part II, Page 46)

ने.सं. ६९८ देखि ७०१ (वि.सं १६३५-१६३८) सम्म कान्तिपुर राज्यका राजा सदाशिव मल्ल र शिवसिंह मल्लको द्वैध शासन भइरहेको कुरा देखिन्छ। यता ने.सं. ६९८ (वि.सं. १६३५) देखि शिवसिंह मल्लले शासन गर्न थालेको देखिन्छ भने उता राजा सदाशिव मल्लको ने.सं. ७०१ (वि.सं. १६३८) को अभिलेख पाइएकोले यिनको पनि शासन कायम थियो भन्ने बुझिन्छ। (Regmi -Medieval Nepal, Part II, Page 46)

एकदिन राजा सदाशिव मल्ल मनहरातिर घुम्न गएको बेला प्रजाहरूले नोल मुडगल लिएर खेडेर पठाए। तब भक्तपुरमा गई शरण लिएर बस्न थाले। यिनको खराब आचरणको कारणले भक्तपुर दरबारको चोकमा नजरबन्द गरी राखे। यिनलाई थुनी राखेको चोकलाई सदाशिव चोक भन्ने गरिन्छ। (शर्मा –नेपालको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ १६५)

यसरी राजा सदाशिव मल्लको पलायनपछि कान्तिपुरको राज्यमा राजा शिवसिंह मल्ल र राजा रणजीतसिंह मल्लको संयुक्त शासन भएको देखा पर्‍यो। ने.सं. ७०३ (वि.सं. १६४०) को अहिले प्राप्त भएको प्रस्तुत अभिलेखमा "श्री राजाधिराज श्री श्री जय शिवसिंहदेव श्री श्री जय रणजित सिंहदेव प्रभुठाकुरस बिजय राज्य" भनी उल्लेख गरिएको पाइन्छ। त्यस्तै ने.सं. ७०४ (वि.सं. १६४१) को चाँगुनारायण मन्दिरको भण्डारमा रहेको तामापत्रमा पनि "श्री राजाधिराज श्री श्री जय शिवसिंहदेव श्री श्री जयरणजित सिंहदेव उभय प्रभुठाकुरस विजयराज्य" भनी उल्लेख भएको पाइन्छ। (खनाल-चाँगुनारायणको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री, पृष्ठ २६८)

राजा रणजीत सिंहको नाम राजा शिवसिंहसंग संयुक्त शासकको रूपमा देखापरेका हुनाले यिनी राजपरिवारको एक महत्त्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति थिए भन्ने बुझिन्छ। यति मात्र होइन सदाशिव मल्ललाई पलायन गराउनुमा शिवसिंह र रणजीतसिंह दुवैको हात छ भन्ने निःसन्देह छ। राजा रणजीतसिंह राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको आफ्नै ठकुराईका काल्छो भाइ थिए। (खनाल-चाँगुनारायणको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री, पृष्ठ ३९)

धेरै काल नबित्दै कान्तिपुरमा ने.सं. ७०६ (वि.सं. १६४३) मा आएर राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको मात्रै एकलौटी शासन कायम हुन थालेको देखिन्छ। संभवतः यतिबेला राजा रणजीत सिंहको मृत्यु भइसकेको हुनु पर्दछ। ने.सं. ७०६ (वि.सं. १६४३) को काठमाडौं विश्वकर्मा विहारको शाक्यमुनि मन्दिरमा रहेको तामापत्र अभिलेखमा राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको नाम मात्र उल्लेख गरिएको छ। (Regmi- Medieval Nepal-II, Page 47) इतिहासमा राजा रणजीत सिंह मल्लको बारे विस्तृत जानकारीका स्रोतहरू अझै प्राप्त भएको छैन।

बाबुराम आचार्यको भनाइ अनुसार, शिवसिंह मल्लले ललितपुरमा आफ्ना छोरा हरिहरसिंह मल्ललाई प्रतिनिधि गरी पठाए झैं दोलखाको ठकुराईमा आफ्नो भाइ रणजील सिंहलाई पठाए। यिनै रणजीतसिंहका छोरा इन्द्रसिंह थिए। (सूचना विभाग—मेचीदेखि महाकाली, भाग २, पृष्ठ ९२) तर दोलखाको इतिहासमा त्यसबेला रणजीत सिंहको नाम देखिदैन। यिनै रणजीत सिंहका छोरा इन्द्रसिंह थिए भन्ने कुरा त झनै आधारहीन देखिन्छ।

राजा शिवसिंह मल्ल एक महत्त्वाकांक्षी र योग्य व्यक्ति हुनाले यिनले ललितपुर र दोलखालाई आफ्नो राज्यमा गाभ्ने योजना बनाए। ने.सं. ७१७ (वि.सं. १६५४) सम्म ललितपुरमा पुरन्दर सिंहले शासन गरिरहेकै थिए। (बज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ-दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ ३९) त्यसपछि ललितपुर र दोलखा आफ्नो अधिकारमा लिए भन्ने बुझिन्छ। ललितपुरमा आफ्ना छोरा हरिहर सिंहलाई प्रतिनिधि गरी पठाए। दोलखालाई चाहिं आफ्नो अधीनस्थ मात्र गराई त्यहींको शासकलाई नै दिएको भन्ने बुझिन्छ। किनभने ने.सं. ७१९ (वि.सं. १६५५) मा दोलखाका शासक भीष्मदेवले राखेको अभिलेखमा

आफूलाई "दोलखाधिपति" भनी लेखिएको पाईदैन । (बज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ-दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ ३९) यसबाट दोलखा कान्तिपुरको अधीनस्थ भइसकेको बुझ्न सकिन्छ । यो भन्दा पहिले दोलखा एक स्वतन्त्र राज्य भनेर त्यहाँका शासकले "दोलखाधिपति" "राजाधिराज" भनेर आफूलाई स्वतन्त्र शासक भन्ने गर्दथे । यदि यतिबेला रणजीत सिंहलाई प्रतिनिधि गरी पठाएको कुरा सत्य भए भीष्मदेवको सट्टा रणजीत सिंह हुनुपर्ने थियो। तर ने.सं. ७०६ (वि.सं. १६४३) मै राजा रणजीत सिंहको नाम इतिहासमा नदेखिएको हुनाले ने.सं. ७१९ (वि.सं. १६५५) मा दोलखाको निम्ति प्रतिनिधि हुनु असंभव भन्न सकिन्छ । दोलखाको शासक उजोतदेव पछि गोविन्ददेव त्यहाँका शासक भए। यिनको पनि वि.सं. १५९१ मा मृत्यु भयो र त्यसपछि इन्द्रसिंह शासक भए । दोलखाको शासकहरूमध्ये इन्द्रसिंहको नाम विशिष्ट हुनुको साथै बहुचर्चित व्यक्तित्वको नामले चिन्हिन्छन् । दोलखाको इतिहासमा "राजाधिराज" भनेर लेख्ने पहिलो शासक यिनै इन्द्रसिंह थिए। (बज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ - दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ २८)

कान्तिपुरका राजा महेन्द्र मल्लले चाँदीको मोहर प्रचलन गर्नु भन्दा पहिला दोलखामा इन्द्रसिंहले चाँदीको मोहर चलाएका थिए । हुन पनि कान्तिपुरमा महेन्द्र मल्ल राजा हुनु अघि दोलखामा इन्द्रसिंह शासक थिए । यता महेन्द्र मल्लको राज्यकाल ने.सं. ६८०–६९४ (वि.सं १६१७–१६३१) को बीच देखिन्छ भने उता इन्द्रसिंहको शासनकाल ने.सं. ६६५ (वि.सं १६०२)–ने.सं. ६६८ (वि.सं. १६०५) बीच देखिन्छ । यिनको ने.सं. ६६६ (वि.सं १६०३) को रानी दरबारको अभिलेखमा आफूलाई "राजाधिराज" भनेर लेखिएको छ र यहीबेला चाँदीको मोहर पनि प्रचलन गरेका छन् भन्ने कुरामा इतिहासकार-हरूको एक मत पाइन्छ । (वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ—दोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा, पृष्ठ ३०)

मल्लकालीन कान्तिपुरको इतिहासमा राजा शिवसिंह मल्ललाई एक प्रजापालक धर्मपरायण व्यक्तित्वका रूपमा चित्रित्रिन्छन् । राजा शिवसिंहले प्रत्येक दिन प्रजाहरूको घरघरमा चुलो बलेको धुँवा आएको हेर्ने गर्दथे । यदि कुनै घरमा धुँवा आएको देखिएन भने तुरून्त सोध्न पठाउँथे । त्यसपछि आफू खाने स्वभावका प्रजापालक राजा थिए भन्ने किंवदन्तीहरू पाइन्छ । नेपालको धार्मिक इतिहासमा प्राचीनकालदेखि नेपाल धर्म सहिष्णुताको विशेषता भएको कारणले यिनको पनि सहिष्णुको नीति रहेको पाइन्छ । यिनको पालामा विभिन्न धर्म बौद्ध, वैष्णव, शैव अनेक देवदेवताका मन्दिरहरू बनेको र जीर्णोद्धारहरू भएको इतिहासमा देखिन्छ ।

यिनले स्वयंभूनाथको जीर्णोद्धार गरे भन्ने कुरा त्यहाँको ने. सं. ७१४ माघ (वि. सं.१६५१) को अभिलेखबाट बुझिन्छ । यिनको रानीको नाम गंगादेवी थिइन् । तिनी पनि अति धर्मपरायणा थिइन् । यिनै रानीको नाममा बनाएको बनलाई रानीवन भनिन्छ । यिनले पशुपतिनाथको मन्दिरलाई जीर्णोद्धार गरेका थिए । पहिले पशुपतिनाथको मन्दिरको तीन छाना थियो । माझको छाना जीर्ण भएकोले त्यसलाई झिकी सुनको गजूर राखी छानामा सुनका मोलम्बा गरी वर्तमान पशुपति मन्दिरको रूप यिनैको पालामा बनेको थियो । (झवाली–नेपाल उपत्यकाको मध्यकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ १३१) यी बाहेक अनेकन देवदेवताको मन्दिरहरू बने जसमध्ये मखन टोलको नारायण मन्दिर पनि एक थियो, जुन त्यहाँको मन्दिरको सामु राखेको गरुड मूर्तिको पादपीठ अभिलेखमा लोककल्याणका लागि राजा शिवसिंह र राजा रणजीत सिंहको विजय राज्यको बेलामा मन्दिर र गरुड थापना गरिएको हो भन्ने उल्लेख छ । यस अभिलेखबाट गरुड मूर्ति कुन शताब्दीको भन्ने कुरा यकिन साथ भन्न सजिलो भएको छ । साथै यसबाट इतिहासलाई धेरै कुरामा पुष्टिका लागि उपयोगी भएको छ ।

राजा शिवसिंहले मोरंग र मकवानपुर बीच झगडा पर्दा मकवानपुरले अन्याय गरेको थाहा पाएर मोरंगलाई सहायता दिएका थिए । (मुनकर्मी—नेपालको

सांस्कृतिक तथा ऐतिहासिक दिग्दर्शन, पृष्ठ २४९) यसप्रकार लिस्ति केरुङ मकवानपुर सिन्धुली पश्चिमतिर गण्डकीपारीसम्म आफ्नो प्रभाव फैलाएका थिए। त्यसकारण राजा शिवसिंहको राज्यकालमा निर्माण कार्यभन्दा अधिकांश समय युद्धमा नै बितेको देखिन्छ। (दाहाल–नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ ४७)

शिवसिंह मल्लले ललितपुर जितेपछि आफ्नो छोरा हरिहरसिंह मल्ललाई ललितपुरको लागि प्रतिनिधि गरी पठाएका थिए। यिनको चाँडै मृत्यु भएकोले निजका पत्नी लालमती गर्भवती भएकोले पुत्र पैदा भएमा ललितपुर राज्य दिउँला भनी आश्वासन दिएर सति जानबाट रोकेका थिए। छोराको मृत्यु भएपछि ललितपुरको शासन पनि आफैले चलाए। लालमतीको गर्भबाट पाएको कान्छो नाति सिद्धनरसिंह मल्लको बाह्र वर्ष उमेर भएपछि वि. सं. १६७५ (ने. सं. ७३८) मा ललितपुरको राजगद्दी दिए। यो देखेर यता जेठो नाति लक्ष्मीनरसिंह मल्ल दरबार छोडी बाहिर बस्न थाले तब उनलाई पनि बोलाएर कान्तिपुरको राज्य दिए। (दाहाल –नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ ४८)

वि. सं. १६७७ (ने. सं. ७४०) मा कान्तिपुरका राजा लक्ष्मीनरसिंह मल्ल र ललितपुरका राजा सिद्धिनरसिंह दुई दाजु भाइले 'एकानि शत्रु एकानि मित्रु' भनी दुई स्वतन्त्र राज्यको रूपमा सन्धि गरी राज्य गर्न थाले। (संशोधन मण्डल –इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाण प्रमेयको मूलभाग, पृष्ठ ३) राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको अभिलेख ने. सं. ७३७ (वि. सं. १६७४) सम्म पाइन्छ। (Regmi– Medieval Nepal, Part II, Page 54) किन्तु यिनको मृत्यु वि. सं. १६७७ (ने. सं. ७४०) वैशाखमा भएको भनी तत्कालीन ऐतिहासिक स्रोतमा लेखिएको छ भनी इतिहासमा पाइन्छ। (दाहाल –नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ ४८) यिनको मृत्युको विषयमा रोचक कथा पाइन्छ। राजा शिवसिंह र रानी गंगादेवी एकै समयमा मृत्यु भएको थियो जुन बेला पशुपतिमा ठूलो आवाज आएको थियो जुन आवाज सुन्ने जति बहिरा भए भनी वंशावलीहरूमा पाइन्छ। (मुनकर्मी– नेपालको सांस्कृतिक तथा ऐतिहासिक दिग्दर्शन, पृष्ठ २५०)

ऐतिहासिक स्रोतहरूको प्रमाणित आधार नपाएसम्म काठमाडौं मखन टोलस्थित गरुड मूर्तिलाई छैटौं शताब्दीको मूर्ति भनेर मान्दै आएकोमा त्यस मूर्तिको पादपीठ अभिलेखद्वारा सत्रौं शताब्दीको मूर्ति भनेर प्रमाणित भइदिएको छ। यस अभिलेखको सहायताले राजा शिवसिंह मल्ल र राजा रणजीतसिंह मल्ल दुई दाजु भाइको संयुक्त शासन भएको कुरालाई पुष्टि गर्छ। परन्तु राजा रणजीत मल्लको बारेमा पूरा इतिहास जान्नको लागि यति मात्रले पर्याप्त भएको छैन। यति चाहिं अवश्य भन्न सकिन्छ कि मल्लकालीन इतिहासमा राजा रणजीतसिंह मल्लको पनि महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेछ। यिनलाई दोलखाको निमित्त प्रतिनिधि गरी पठाएको भनी कतै चर्चा छ तर सही ऐतिहासिक स्रोत भने पाइएको छैन। राजा रणजीत सिंहका छोरा दोलखाका ख्याति पाएका शासक इन्द्रसिंह थिए भन्ने कुरा त बिलकूलै नमिलेको देखिन्छ। राजा शिवसिंह मल्लले आफ्नो राज्यकालको शुरूमा आफ्नो दाजु सदाशिव मल्लको विरोधमा द्वैध शासन गर्न थालेको देखिन्छ। सदाशिव मल्ल धपिए पछि कान्छो भाइ रणजीत सिंहसंग मिलेर संयुक्त शासन गरेको पाइएको कुरा प्राप्त अभिलेखबाट स्पष्ट पार्दछ। त्यसपछि शिवसिंह मल्लको एकलौटी शासन कायम भएपछि राज्य विस्तार गर्न थालेको बुझिन्छ। तर अन्त्यमा कान्तिपुर आफ्नो जेठा नाति लक्ष्मीनरसिंहलाई दिए र ललितपुर कान्छा नाति सिद्धिनरसिंहलाई दिए। यसप्रकार मल्लकालीन इतिहासमा यक्षमल्लपछि राजा शिवसिंह मल्लको पालामा पुनः राज्य विभाजन हुन गयो।

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(गताङ्कको बाँकी)

१८. श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा वलवीर थकालीले लेषि चह्राई पठायाको थाकठेनीवाह्र गाउँ भनांका भर अम्वलमा भयाको जनावरका तायेदान गरि ज्मा कागज लेषि चह्राई पठाउनु भनि मर्जिको दस्षत वक्सी सहुँदा सिर चह्राई गाउंगाउंमा जाँच गर्दा सहज्मा ६४३८ भयो. दुनियाहरू भन्या हजुरमा मजुरी विन्ति गर्न सक्तैन. अघि चलि आया वमोजिम अडाअडासम्मको करुणा क्षमा रहिवक्सीस भया गरिप दुनियाको जीविका हुंदो हो भनि गैह्र दुनियाले विन्ति गर्छन्. जनावर को देहिषोली चह्राई पठायाको छ कसो गर्न्या हो.

तपसिल

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माघ वदि १२ रोज २ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरवाट वलवीर थकालिके लेषिगयाको कठिनि वाह्रगाउँ भनांका भर अम्वलका जनावरका तायेदान कागज समेत ज्मा जनावर ६४३८ येति भया भनि लेख्याका कुरालाई अरूले ताहा जांचि आउंदा मैले लेखि पठाया भंदा दोवरको कुरा गर्छन् श्री ५ सर्कारको जमिन जान्या फौजको ज्यू जान्या वषतमा तैले ताहा भयाका जनावर दवाउनापछि लागिस भन्या. तेरा ज्यूधनमा पर्न्याछ सो वुझी चैत्र वैशाखमा पालपावाट वरष पल्टन आउदा रसद वोकाउनलाई तयार गरिराषनु ताहावाट रसद वोकाई झुगासम्म पुऱ्याईदिनुपर्छ तेस वेलालाई ज्मा गराउनु हर्कट भयो भन्या तेरा ज्यू धनमा पर्ला शुभम्–

माघवदि १४ रोज ४ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरवाट श्री जनरल वद्री नरसिंह कुवर राणाजी के लेषि गयाको फौज वढाई हवैन भनि ६।६ सयेको पल्टन २ नया भर्ना गरि येक पल्टन धनकुट्टा तरफ जान्या भयो यस्तरफ वढिया धाक्चा मनाकै मिल्दैन. तसनिमित्त. तेसतरफ जगाजगामा सिपाहि हुन्या धरानाका १२ वर्षदेषि माथि ५० वर्ष देषि मनिका लायेक मानिस झिकाई हेरि ज्मादार हुंदा सिपाहि ६।६ सयेका पल्टन २ जमाइ तयार गर्नु

पन्यो वैशाष वदि १ रोजदेषि मैह्लावारि दर्माहा लान्याछ भनि सुनाइ चाडो भर्ना गरि पठाई दिन्या काम गर्नु पजनी गर्नालाई र जगाजगावाट मानिस झिकाई ताही वसी हुंछ तापनि पोषरासम्म गै हुंछ तापनि भर्ना गर्नुपर्छ ताहापनि ढाक्चा ज्मा गरि पजनी गर्नु कपतानले फटेन सुवेदार षर्दारहरू ज्याहिवाट भर्ना हुन्या छन् ताहा तिमीवाट भर्ना गर्नु पर्न्या जवानको रयवंदी ज्मादार २० के दर २०५ कोत्या २ के दर १२५ मेजर २ के दर १२५ अजिटन २ के दर २०० अगाडि निसान २ के दर ६० पछाडीं निसान २ के दर ५५ हवल्दार ४० के दर ६० अमल्दार ४० के दर ५५ लैन हवल्दार २ के दर ७५ सिपाहि ११२२ के दर ५० वर्ष १ के येहि हिसाव वमोजिम मैह्लावारि पाउन्याछन्. मोस्ताङवाट नौदिनमा झुगा पुग्न्या रहेछ लेफटेन अम्वर सिं कुवर राणाजि र वरष पल्टनको येक पट्टि ज्मादार हुंदा सिपाहिलाई फागुन लाग्या संक्रान्तिका भोलिपल्ट त्योजान्या ज्मादार स्मेत १ पट्टीलाई गठा वर्षजाना समेत दि ताहावाट मोस्ताङ पठाई मोस्ताङ तर्फका चौरिझोवा लुलु षचर गदाहा भेदा गैह्र भारीवोकन्या जनावर ५।७ हजार ज्मा गरि राषनु ति ज्मादार फागुनका १० दिन वाकिसम्म जसजसका भारि वोकन्या लुलु चौरी गदाहा षचर छन् तिनीहरूलाई आफ्नु वंद वेपार चलन गर्न दिनु वाहा पछि कसैले दवाउन छपाउन नपाउन्या गरि ज्मा गर्नु तिज्मा गन्याका लुलुचौरी गदाहा षचर भारि वोकन्या जनावरलाई रसद वोकाई वैशाष लाग्न्या संक्रान्तिका दिन झुगा पुग्न्या गरि वरफ पल्टन स्मेत लैजानु पर्न्याछ. रसद षरिदलाई वेनिवाङलु गरदान भन्सारवाट रुपिया लिनु भन्या वेहोराका दस्षत ५।७ दिनमा पठाईदिन्या काम गरिएला. सो दस्षत वमोजिमका रुपिया ली तिनै रुपिञ्चाले जति ज्मा भया सम्मका जनावरले वोकनपाया करुको सत्तु नपाया जौकोसत्तु. त्यो पनि नपाया चावल च्यूरा उवाफापर येतिमा जो जो पाइन्छ पायासम्मको रसद षरिद गरि मोष्पझुगामा रह्चाका पल्टन स्मेतलाई पुगोस्. नभया वरष पल्टनलाई रसद हर्कट नहुन्या गरि जमा गर्नु भन्या कुरा अह्राई ज्मादार स्मेत १ यहि हुंदा सिपाहि समेत ली. लेफटेन अम्वरसिं कुवर राणाजिलाई फागुन लाग्या संक्रान्तिका भोलिपल्ट हिडाउन्या काम गरनु. फागुन निकल्दोमा वांकि रह्चाको वरष पल्टनलाई गडापन्थर जो चाहिन्या षर्षजास्मेत मोस्ताङमा नीजले फटेनसंग सामेल भै रहनु भनि अह्राई पठाउनु ताहावाट झुगा जानुभन्या. लेषिगयापछि मोस्ताङवाट लेफतेन समेत वरफ पल्टनलाई र वाना गार्न्या काम गर्नु. ताहा तिम्रा तैनाथमा रह्चाका शम्सेर जङ्ग पल्टनका सयेनाललाई चादनोडा दिनु शम्सेर जङ्ग पल्टनका ज्याहा तैनाथ भयाका सयेनाल सधाया सिकायाको रहेन छ. भनि. नानी कर्णेल केदार नरसिंह कुवर राणाजीले लेष्याको रहेछ ति सिपाहि तहसिलमा रह्याको हुनाले. केहि तालिम नभयाका हुन्. अवर वेस गरि सघाउन्या सिकाउन्या काम गर्नु शुभम्—

माघ वदि १४ रोज ४ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा ह्लासाका नाइक्या सिद्धिराजले लेषि चह्राई पठायाको माघ वदी १ रोजका दिन ह्लासावाट रवाना भै येवदी १० रोजका दिन डिगर्चामा आइपुग्या अरू विस्तार हजुरका चरणमा म आयापछि विन्ति चह्राउला मुकाम डिगर्चा शुभम्—

माघ वदि ३० रोज ५ मा

ताहापछि श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा सर्दार जुद्धवीर अधिकारीले लेषिचह्राई पठायाको. हजुरका मर्जिवमोजिम म २ सयेनाल र षर्षजाना तयारी गरि कार्तिक शुदि १३ रोज ५ दिन सायेता गरि प्यूठाना अडा देषि कुचगरि मार्गशुदि ३ रोजका दिन दुल्लु पाहुका आइ पुगि केहि दिन तहि मुकाम गरि ताहावाट पनि कुच भै पौषका १८ दिन जांदा आदित्यवारका दिन जुमला सो हुगल्यादरा. तुमचौर फेदिमा श्री कम्याण्डर कर्णेल साहेवका हजुरमा दाषील भै मर्जिवमोजिम कामकाज गर्दैछु शुभम्—

माघ शुदि १ रोज ६ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरका हजुरमा प्रोहित चतुर्भुज

अर्ज्याले लेषि चह्राई पठायाको रसदका अर्थलाई दिनकादिन उज्यालो भयादेषि वस्याको सांजसम्म पनि उम्कदैन रसद घर सिध्याई रसद थन्क्याउनु लागिरह्या छौ. केहि घर भन्या बनाउदैछु औ माथितिरको षवर. ह्लासाका राजा लामाले क्या विहुत गरेछ र अघिदेषि झुगामा नेल हालि थुन्याको रहेछ अवर गोर्षा श्री मिनिष्टर साहेव इश्वरको चढाइ हुनलाग्यो भनि ह्लासाको राजा लामालाई आफै भाग्यो भन्यां वहाना गरि येकदिनको वाटो माथितिर गै पुग्याइ आया भन्या षवर सुनिन्छ. केरु मा वस्न्या ढेवाका घरमा गाडचाको धोजा वतासले तिनटुक्रा भै भाचियो भन्या षवर सुनियो. वहाका रैयेतहरूले यस्तो वतासता वारंवार आउदै थियो. कैले पनि भांचिदैनथ्यो. अैलेका वर्ष क्या उपद्र हुन लाग्यो र यो धोजा भाँचियो. अव गोर्षा सर्कारको राज्य हुन लाग्यो भनि भन्दछन् अरे उस्का पट्टिका रैयेतहरू हाम्रापट्टि भागि आउन लाग्यो भन्या षवर सुनेछ र दोसाध आफ्नापट्टि चौकी पहरो राष्यो. अरे रैयेतहरू कोहि भागि गयौ भन्या तिमी रैयतहरूका ज्यू पनि काटियौला. सर्वस्व पनि हौला अवर तिमी रैयत–हरूले आफ्ना हातहतियार जो भयाका तयार गरि राष भन्या उर्दि सुनायो भन्या षवर सुनिन्छ. रैयतहरूले आपसमा अैले हामि भागि जान्या छौ हामीलाई उर्दि क्या दिछौ. श्री मिनिष्टरसाहेव इश्वरका अवतार भयाको छ. भन्यापछि हामीले गरि क्या हुंछ भनि भन्दछन् अरे गोर्षा सर्कारपछि मिल्दैछौ. हामीलाई धेरै सुख हुन्याछ भन्या षवर सुनिन्छ शुभम्–

माघ सुदि २ रोज ७ मा

ताहापछि श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरवाट. श्री कम्याण्डर कर्णैल षड्ग बहादुर कुवर राणाजीलाई लेषि गयाको विजैपुरवाट पनि आजसम्म रसद आउन्यै थीयो. सुवेदार अजप् थापासंग धोक्रालाई टाट देउभन्दा ञाहाको टाट हेटौडा पठाइदिनु भन्या श्री ठाहिला जनरलवाट लेषि आयो भनि टाट चाँडो नदिदा ढील भयाको हो. अवरढोक्रालाई टाट ३ हजार दिएछ. तेस्को ९ हजार ढोक्रा हुन्छ. अब ५।७ दिनदेषि विजैपुरवाट रसदका भारि वलाङचुङमा चलन्या भनि लेष्याका कुरालाई वलाङचुङमा लैजान्या रसद दोहागढीवाट नलैगै विजैपुर-वाट लैजान्या वन्दोवस्त कस्का वुद्धिले गन्यौ यस्तै तजवीजले गन्यौ भन्या रसद पुग्याउन सकौला भन्या जस्तो देषीयो. दोहागदिबाट वलाङचुङ कति दिनको वाटो छ. विजैपुरवाट कति दिनको वाटो छ. त्यो पनि हिसाव गन्यौ कि. उसै जसले ज्या भन्यो उसै वमोजिम गन्यौ दोहागदिमा येक गोला र बालाङचुङमा यक गोला तैयार गरि रसदको ताकिति गर्न्या काम गर. अघि तिमिलाई वलाङचुमा वस्तु भन्याको हो. अव म डिगर्चा पुग्यापछि. तिमिले डिगर्चा आउनु पर्न्याछ. तसअर्थ सिपाहि समेतलाई दोचामोजा वषु हिउ जाडोमा लाउन्या लुगाहरू सवै तयार गर्नु. लाउन्या काम गर. तोपको गोला ५।५ सये र १५।१५ सये गिराफ तयार गर्नु. ञाहाबाट तोप आउदैन. इलाममा छन् भन्या. ताहाको पनि झिकाई तयार गर्न्या काम गर. रसद वोकन्या ढोक्रा वोराको नवनाउनु टाटको वलियो वाकुलो हेरि ९ हजार षरिद गर्नु. रसद वोकदा र धोक्रामा हालि वोकि ल्याई अडामा पुग्या पछि वोरा षन्याइ संभारसंग राषनु लगाई फेरि धोक्रा षन्याई लैगि. अर्को रसद भरि वोकाईन्या काम गर्नु ताहा षटियाका पल्टन कंपनिका पगरि हुदा सिपाहि लांजीमा गैहको गथेर षालि हाजिरिकति छन् षसोषास हाजिरिलि फर्द लेषि ञाहा पठाइदिनु. चोरलाई कसो गरुं भनि लेख्याका कुरालाई ऐनमा हेरि चुक अनुसार ऐन वमोजिम गर. नया पल्टनका पगरि हुंदा सिपाहिसवै ञाहा भर्ना भै सकिया इन्मा भर्ना भागन्या भै खालि भयो भन्या तिमीले भर्ना गर्न्याका मगर. नञा पल्टनलाई चाहिन्या भनी रैवन्दिमा दरियाको पिपा ज्मादार २ के दर ५० पिपा हवल्दार २ के दर ४५ पिपा १०० के दर ३६ येस हिसापले मोहर रुपिया पाउन्ये छन् येति पिपाका ज्मादार हवल्दार. पिपा किराति भोट्यामा ताहि भर्ना गर शुभम्–

माघ शुदि २ रोज ७ मा

श्री जनरल कुष्नबहादुर कुवर राणाजिबाट कम्याण्डर कर्णैल जङ्गबहादुर कुवर राणाजीलाई लेषि गयाको सुवेदार नैनसिं वस्न्यात सिपाहि ५।७ जाचमा

गयाको थिया. जांचवाट झिकाई १।२ दिनमा तेस तरफ हिडन्या छन् ताहारह्याका पल्टन कंपनिका मानिसको जनो जांच हाजिरी गरी ञाहा पठाउनु भनि श्रीमिनिष्टर दाज्यै ज्यूबाट तिमीलाई लेषि गयाको छ. तस निमित्त सुवेदार नैनसि वस्न्यात र इनकासंगमा. ताहापुग्याका सिपाहिलाई हाजिर गरि पठाउनु. सुवेदार-संग नपुग्न्यालाई गयेर गरि पठाउन्या काम गर्नु शुभम्–

माघ शुदि ४ रोज १ मा

श्री जनरल कष्नबहादुर कुवर राणाजीबाट काजी डिल्लीसिह वस्न्यात के लेषिगयाको माघ शुदि ३ रोज १ का वेहान रसद हालन्या वोरा नजर हुंदा येस्तो भोट तरफ जडको हामिले मनसुवा गरि ८३ हजार रुपिया दी थैला झिकाउ भनि हामीले अह्रायामा षप्न्या नषप्न्या काज पुग्न्या नपुग्न्या अंदाज गरि साहु धर्म-नारान्लाई ८३ हजार रुपैया. काजी डिल्लीसिह वष्न्यातले र षजांचि शिवप्रसाद अर्ज्यालले सौप्पाछन् वोरा भन्या काम नलाग्न्या चावलस्मेत चुहुन्या झिकाई काम हर्कट गऱ्या भन्यापछि साहु धर्मनारानले पनि आजसम्म दाषिल गऱ्याका वोराको रुपियाको ४ वोरा भया ८ वोरा देवस् वाकि रुपिया वडाकप्तान सनकसि षत्रीले र षजांचि सिद्धिमानसि राज भंडारीले टाटको थैला झिकाउनु भनि तिमी र षजांचि शिवप्रसाद अर्ज्यालले १३ सालको वालिलाई षोसियाथ्यौ. वडा कप्तान सनकसि षत्रीलाई पनि ताहा आउनालाई षटियाथ्या फेरी यसैदिनमा दिउसों म गया र काजकाम कारिन्दा हुन. ति वोराको नमुना दिंदालिदा हामी सवै जान्दैछौ भन्यापछि षोसिनु मुनासिव होइन भनि अनेक तरहसंग विन्तिगर्दा येकवार भाइयोस् तैले विन्ति गरिस् भन्यापछि थामिदिया भनिमर्जि भयो र ञाहा भयाको विस्तार तिमीलाई लेषनु पर्न्या हो भनि लेष्याको हो अवर यस जंगी कामका. वास्तामा वहुतै सहिचानगरि कोनै कुराको अयप् नलाग्न्या श्री ५ सर्कारको वढिया हुन्या पाठसंग आफुलाई लाग्याको काजकाममा वहुतै हुसियारि राषि काम गर शुभम्–

माघ शुदि ४ रोज १ मा

ताहापछि श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरवाट काजि डिल्ली सिह वस्न्यातलाई लेषिगया को. मधेस. जिल्लाजिल्लाको चावल हेटौडामा दाखिल भयाको हेटौडादेखि भीम्फेदी सम्म ल्याउन्या निमित्त तिमीलाई पठाया वमोजिमका गाडावयेलको ज्याला मंजुरीको रुपिञा ञाहाबाट वन्दोवस्त गरि पठायाको डेढमहिना जतिभयो. येति गाडाको वन्दोवस्त गरि रसद चलाञ्यु भन्या वेहोरा. केहि लेषि पठायेनौ क्यागरि वसिरह्याछौ ञाहा म छदै भिमफेदीमा दाषिल भयन भन्या हेटौडावाट त्यो रसद कसले ल्याइदेला भन् थानिरह्याछौं. जंगिकामको वास्ता हो. अरू वेहोरा जस्तो गरि वेहोस भै काम नगर. वेहोस भै काम गऱ्यौ भन्या अपसरिया हौला शुभम्–

माघ सुदी ४ रोज १ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिष्टरबाट श्री जनरल र रणउद्दीप सिंह कुंवर राणाजिलाई लेषिगयाको रसद हालन्या वोरा थैलाका कुरामा तिथैला झिकाउंदा काजी डिल्लीसिंह वस्न्यातले र षजांचि शिव प्रसाद अर्ज्यालले इ थैला यस्ता चाहिन्या हुन भनि अंदाज गरि वोराको थैलीको वन्दोवस्त साहु धर्मनारानसंग गरि नमुना दिया छन् उसमा पनि साहु धर्मनारानले सवाई कमगरि ल्याउदा ञाहा आयाका चावल चुहि छिरिजादोरहेछ र सबै कुरामा काजिषजांचि धर्मनारान इ तिन जनालाइ डाडगिरिगर्दा अव भिसाषोरि सम्म वोराका थैला जो आयो त्यो वुझिवक्ष्नुहवस अवर तेस्ता थैला झिकाउन्या छैन वाक्लो टाटको थैला झिकाउला भनि धर्मनारान्ले कवुलगरि रहेछन् सो वमोजिम भिसाषोरिसम्म आयाका वोराका थैला वुझि येस्तरफ रसद वोकाई पठाइदिनु यो चिठि पुग्याका मिति देषि उप्रान्त भन्या वोराका थैला नवुझ्नु वाकलाटाटका थैलावुझ्नु उपनि १० पाठि चावल अराई डोरिले मुषवाधनु हुन्या वुझ्नु भनि ताहा रहन्या कारिन्दा गैह्रलाई उर्दी दिन्या कामगर शुभम्–

(क्रमशः)

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'प्राचीन नेपाल' का निमित्त प्राग्–इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, मानवशास्त्र, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

महानिर्देशक
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